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HARVARD STUDIES
IN
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

*EDITED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE CLASSICAL
INSTRUCTORS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY*

VOLUME XLVI



CAMBRIDGE
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON : HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1935

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H26
v. 46

PRINTED AT THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.

PREFATORY NOTE

THESE Studies are published by authority of Harvard University and are contributed chiefly by its instructors and graduates, although contributions from other sources are not excluded. The publication is partly supported by a fund of about \$11,000, generously subscribed by the Class of 1856.

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FATE, GOOD, AND EVIL, IN EARLY GREEK POETRY

BY WILLIAM CHASE GREENE

THAT this is on the whole a good world, and that man is on the whole happy, we are generally agreed; at least man struggles to prolong his life on the assumption that life is worth living. Yet he is confronted also by pain and sorrow and vice, and their origins are often obscure; even good is sometimes turned to evil; even evil seems sometimes mysteriously to contain elements of good. We assume that everything must have its cause, and we ordinarily push the ultimate cause of all things back to God. Yet this very assumption results in making God responsible for evil as well as for good, and at least raises the question whether man is responsible for his actions, good or evil. Shall we suppose that God is imperfectly good, or that He is good but not omnipotent? Shall we set Fate above God? Shall we suppose that God is still developing, or is manifesting Himself only gradually? Shall we break the world apart, and recognize a Devil as well as a God? Shall we, in order to preserve the freedom of the human will and its goodness, dispense with divinity, and recognize only a material universe in which moral values are of purely human origin and relevance?

These are not new questions. They troubled the Greeks,¹ and have lifted their heads in almost every succeeding age, to the confusion of philosophy, theology, and practical affairs. But the problem is perhaps simpler in the world of the Greeks, and often more concrete. Why is it, we may ask with Butcher,² that the Greeks, on the whole a healthy, cheerful, successful people, were nevertheless constantly

¹ E. Renan strangely failed to perceive this; cf. his *Les Apôtres* (Paris, 1899), pp. 324; 328; 339; and J. Girard, *Le Sentiment religieux en Grèce*² (Paris, 1879), p. 6.

² S. H. Butcher, "The Melancholy of the Greeks," in *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*³ (London, 1904); cf. H. Diels, "Der Antike Pessimismus," *Schule und Leben*, Heft I (Berlin, 1921); W. Nestle, "Der Pessimismus und seine Überwindung bei den Griechen," *Neue Jahrb. f. Kl. Alt.* XLVII (1921); F. Wehrli, *ΛΑΘΕ ΒΙΩΣΑΣ* (Leipzig, 1931).

visited by melancholy? On the other hand, why does their tragic drama, dealing largely with suffering and evil, give pleasure? How do their thinkers contrive to explain the persistence of evil in an orderly, rational universe? Or do they, indeed, explain it?

The problem, thus simplified, is at least intelligible. Yet it is not wholly simple, for the various phases of the problem arise at different times and in different ways. The instinct of the Greeks, as of all men, would be to dwell on the goodness and activity of Nature and of whatever powers there be in the world, rather than to stress the evil, thwarting powers and the oppressiveness of Law; we think more easily in positive than in negative terms. It would be only after the general goodness and rationality of the prevailing power had been already accepted and was perceived to be vitiated by the existence of evil that a problem of evil could arise; and it would be only persistent suffering that would arouse a suspicion that there may be some evil power at work. Injustice would not be imputed to the gods if justice had not generally been taken for granted. Moreover there could be no question of the freedom of the will if there were not already an idea of law or causality, a determinism against which freedom could be measured or contrasted. Whether this standard was identified with the will of the gods, as usually by the poets, or with law or power of a less personal sort, as by the philosophers, or with Fate, as by men generally, it provided a background against which the strength of men's wills and their sense of their own deserts might be set forth, as the conception of human personality and the value of human objectives were being defined in the process of living. Thus the moral struggles of life, and their counterpart on the tragic stage and in the pages of the philosophers and historians, were made possible. Presently, as faith in the existence of an external moral order was abated, man assumed for a time the helm of his destiny. At a later period, Chance, a creature with little moral character, came to hold a greater sway in his imaginings. Finally, in the decay of the ancient world, recourse was had once more to the simpler forms of religious faith, or to a philosophic interpretation of Fate.

It is with the whole conception of Fate and its relation to Good and Evil, and of *Physis* to *Themis* and *Nomos*, so far as Greek thought is concerned, that any adequate study of the problem must attempt

to deal. With the gods it must necessarily concern itself, from time to time, but only as they are involved in the conception of Fate, of what must be. In the present study the field is limited to the poets from Homer through Theognis; the philosophers, the Orphic movement, the beginnings of drama, Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides all lie outside of this consideration. Yet it will be seen that enough remains to give a fair impression of the continuous stream of ideas that dominated the ordinary attitude of the Greeks almost to the beginning of the fifth century B.C., and that influenced all later Greek literature.

Of pre-Homeric experience it must suffice here if we recognize in the Homeric poems faint traces, as we recognize in ritual survivals of the historic period clear tokens, of a dependence on the powers of Nature, the universal Mother, a *daimon* dispensing food and warmth and shelter, hardship and suffering, a force wonderful in her variety, a force neither wholly good nor wholly evil. She continued through the cycle of days and months and years, and her way was the way of *Dike*.¹ As Mother Earth, she received the rites that were supposed to bring food; and offshoots of divinity were felt in the baleful *Keres* and the vengeful *Erinyes* and other *daimones*. Even when Zeus and the Olympians had dethroned the older *daimones* and done battle with the Titans, even after Themis, the new divine counterpart of human ideals of conduct, had been wedded to Zeus and eclipsed *Dike*, the Way of Things, the new dynasty found themselves compelled to assume, along with their rôle as anthropomorphic beings, something of the rôle of the older nature-gods. The new dynasty, to be sure, had also once been for the most part nature-gods, but were trying to forget their earlier functions and become gods of the social order. That the older *daimones*, representing the divine life-force, the power of *Physis*, could well afford to bide their time till the days of the Orphic movement, when the inadequacy of the Olympians should have become apparent, is not of immediate concern to us. What is to our purpose is to observe that it was precisely the dual role of the Olympians, or more particularly of Zeus, that first made acute the problem of evil.

¹ Cf. R. Hirzel, *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 56-64; 210-227; J. E. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 516-518.

We may waive the moral inadequacy of the gods, their lack of true affection for men, their failure to maintain justice in this world or in another world, the polytheistic system or lack of system; these blemishes the Greeks could in time recognize, and in the course of centuries they did to some extent purify their theology. But the dual rôle of Zeus, who besides pretending to hold the sceptre of law and justice over his own régime, which is a "succession monarchy" founded on the debris of a great war, has perforce to assume the liabilities of his predecessors, makes him both arbiter of justice and weather god. And this ascription to Zeus of responsibility for the processes of nature, apparently so obvious and so religious a point of view (does not Job's Jehovah speak "out of the whirlwind?"¹), is really charged with a dangerous explosive power. To the extent to which the Olympic gods take over the nature religion and express it in anthropomorphic form, to that extent they are unmoral, if not positively vicious. The rain falls alike upon the just and upon the unjust; the thunder and the lightning strike the good and the evil alike. Let this remain a matter of blind Nature's power, which knows nothing of human distinctions, and no harm is done to our moral sense; Nature knows no better. But give this same power to gods in our own form, recognizing our standards of good and evil, and we are confronted by gods who are arbitrary and capricious when they are not passionate and cruel. Translate into human terms the various fertility-cults that are supposed to prosper the crops, and we shall have polygamous gods, fickle gods, gods of whose powers we shall often have reason to be sceptical. For like political parties that claim the credit for a period of prosperity, the human gods of Homer must also assume the blame for catastrophes and periods of depression. Monarchs who reign but do not rule, delegating their authority to ministers, evade having imputed to them the responsibility for all imperfections, as does the divine creator in Plato's *Timaeus*. Homer's less calculated solution is perhaps polytheism and divided responsibility, and an occasional recourse to *Moirai*. Some imputation of evil, moreover, Zeus escapes by not being the creator of the *kosmos*; he uses the materials provided by his predecessors.

¹ *Job*, 38, 1.

Even after the gods have been differentiated, the idea of power lingering in the vaguer *daimon* often provides an easier explanation of the divine cause of things than could some more departmentalized god in human form, and thus comes near to standing for the idea of Fate; in particular it emphasizes what is external to a man's will, what he does in passion or infatuation. And since it is in times of misfortune, rather than of normal prosperity, that men are most apt to suppose that higher powers have actually interfered,¹ the tendency in Greek literature from Homer down is to attribute to "the *daimon*," or to some unnamed god, or to the gods collectively, whatever arises to thwart the will or hopes of men, as well as whatever sudden inspiration occurs to them. Already the *daimon* seems to have gone far on the path from the rôle of divinity to the rôle of devil (the later *demon*). In Homer, however, the problem of evil is not solved by a simple recourse to a dualistic separation between powers of light and powers of darkness, as in various oriental religions. In only one passage does Homer seem to adopt so drastic a solution: "a hateful *daimon* attacked him . . . but the gods delivered him from evil."² Even here, however, the *daimon* does only what an angry god might elsewhere do. Homer's *daimon*, like his *Moirai*, is inscrutable, and at times hostile; his gods have human failings. But Homer has no absolutely evil god, no devil, unless it be *Ate*; and her rôle is, after all, a minor one.³

Beyond the carrying out of momentary purposes, have Homer's gods any more far-reaching purpose? There is, of course, the *Dios Boule*;⁴ and it has been observed that when the gods act collectively they show "a certain gravity, a sense of duty, and consciousness of moral responsibility for the use of their power over men."⁵ And there stands behind the gods a shadowy power, at times just, at times dreadful and oppressive, the power of *Moirai*. If *Dike*, in the pre-Homeric world, stands for a rhythm in the time-flow of things, *Moirai* suggests their orderly division in space — men's lands and just portions, the rôles and prerogatives of men and gods.⁶ It is almost equivalent to

¹ Cf. *Od.* 3, 166; 12, 295; 7, 248.

² *Od.* 5, 396 f. Cf. further J. A. Hild, *Étude sur les Démons* (Paris, 1881), pp. 36-75.

³ See below, pp. 8 f.

⁴ *Il.* 1, 5; *Od.* 11, 297.

⁵ W. E. Gladstone, *Landmarks of Homeric Study* (London, 1890), p. 65.

⁶ Cf. H. Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum*, s.v. *μοῖραι* (by C. Mutzbauer), noting first

Physis; as Hermes shows Odysseus the *physis* of the plant *moly*,¹ so Penelope remarks to him that men cannot keep awake indefinitely, "since the immortals have made for mortals a *moira* for each thing,"² which is as much as to say that "you can't fight against Nature." The exact color of the word *moira* depends, of course, on its context in each case; sometimes neutral, sometimes suggesting what must be and therefore should be, it often tends, particularly when it refers to the one lot that all must accept, the *μοῖρα θανάτου*, to acquire, like *daimon*, an unfavorable meaning, and is given uncomplimentary epithets.³ Thus in a polytheistic world *Moira* keeps order and assigns limits; she is just, or at least not capricious; not yet has the word *tyche* come into use. So far the idea of Fate has ethical possibilities; but is *Moira* fundamentally good? And how is she related to the gods? Is she identical with their will?

The question, like others of a metaphysical character, is largely verbal; yet it cannot be evaded. The fundamental task of assembling passages that bear on the question was done by Nägelsbach;⁴ and although he forced on Homer a greater degree of logical consistency than is to be expected of the poet, whose attitude is one of religious

the definition of the *Etymologicum Magnum*, and the abundant Homeric examples; see also *s.v.* *μόρος* and *εἰμαρμένη*. The stems of these words, as is universally recognized, are derived from the verb *μείρομαι*, "receive one's portion." F. M. Cornford, and Mauss and Durkheim (cited by G. Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*² (Oxford, 1911), Appendix D, p. 337) trace *μοῖρα* to the special divisions or portions of primitive tribes, and the shares of land, etc. that they held. (*Νόμος*, "law," is similarly akin to *νομή*, "pasture.") For *Aisa*, often equivalent to *Moira*, see Ebeling, *s.v.* *αἴσα* (by B. Giseke), connecting the stem with *ἴση*, "equal," i.e., "a just share." See further *s.v.* *πότημος* (Giseke), cognate of *πίπτω* "befal" (cf. Latin *casus*); i.e., a "chance," or "doom," never of good luck; and *s.v.* *πεπρωμένον* (Giseke), from stem *πορ-*, "give," "bestow"; hence "what is accomplished, predestined." Cf. also C. F. von Nägelsbach, *Homerische Theologie*³ (Nürnberg, 1884), pp. 116-141; W. E. Gladstone, *Juventus Mundi* (London, 1869), pp. 358-360; St. George Stock, "Fate (Greek and Roman)," in Hastings, *Enc. of Rel. and Eth.* V, pp. 786-790; S. Eitrem, *P. W.* *s.v.* *Moira*; E. Leitzke, *Moira und Gottheit im alten griechischen Epos: Sprachlichen Untersuchungen* (Göttingen, 1930); S. Eitrem, "Schicksalsmächte," *Symbolae Osloenses*, XIII (1934), 47-64. ¹ *Od.* 10, 303.

² *Od.* 19, 591-597. Cf. K. Lehrs, "Zeus und die Moira," in *Populäre Aufsätze aus dem Alterthum*² (Leipzig, 1875), pp. 216-218.

³ E.g., *Il.* 21, 83.

⁴ Nägelsbach, *Hom. Theol.*³ pp. 116-141.

faith rather than of philosophic conviction, it is fair to say that on the whole Homer recognizes no essential conflict, as did certain later poets and philosophers, between the power of Fate and the will of Zeus (and other gods), between the remote power and the immediate agency. Both express the cause of events which man is powerless to alter, and it is only the demand of the story that determines whether the more abstract or the more vividly personified agent shall be invoked on a given occasion. Sometimes a traditional formula, expressing the rôle of fate or of a god respectively, and ready to hand, may determine in a given line which turn of expression is the more convenient for the exigency of an oral versifier. But at the critical moments of the poems the will of Zeus tends to be connected with *Moirai* or with other impersonal agencies, probably pre-Homeric, and among them the *Keres* and *Erinyes* of primitive faith, now partly moralized as upholders of the natural and the social orders.

It seems likely that the figure of the Jars, in the great speech of Achilles,¹ in which evils outnumber blessings two to one, is a traditional one, and is the germ of the single Jar of Pandora, containing only evils, by which Hesiod was to account in part for the evil in the world.² Traditional, too, in all probability, is the other principal figure by which Zeus is represented as the chief dispenser of good and evil, the "golden scales."³ Nilsson calls it "a worn and old idea" drawn from Mycenaean times, and illustrates it by reference to a Mycenaean vase-painting which he dates about 1300 B.C.⁴ The poet, and perhaps the painter of the vase, is not suggesting that Zeus is in doubt as to the issue and is leaving the decision to something external; for the fate of Hector, at any rate, was already settled,⁵ and the scales serve but to dramatize the turn in the tide of battle. Nor are the scales symbolic, like the "Scales of Justice," of any specially moral purpose; emphasizing tragic events which are essential to the story, they suggest, like the Jars and the spinning of the Fates

¹ *Il.* 24, 525-533.

² See below, pp. 15 f.

³ *Il.* 8, 69-72; 22, 209-213; cf. 16, 658; 19, 223 f.; *Hom. Hymn* (4) to *Hermes*, 324; *Theognis*, 155-158.

⁴ M. P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae* (London, 1933), p. 267, and fig. 56.

⁵ *Il.* 22, 179; 22, 185.

(and of the gods),¹ the necessary evil that the gods send or at least permit.

Other symbols of the power of Zeus and *Moirā* are to be found not only in the fully individualized gods who often act as their agents but also in vaguer powers and attitudes. To the gods is imputed the human attitude that resents *hybris*, the feeling of *nemesis*, just indignation against sin.² Yet there lingers also among them a trace of the more primitive anger of the gods, — vindictive rage, jealousy of prosperity, niggardliness, — that was to appear in later times as the *φθόνος τῶν θεῶν*,³ and that explains much of the typical Greek attitude of moderation, scrupulous care not to offend the gods, as well as melancholy or resignation.

Nevertheless men are guilty of *hybris* and there must be a reason. In fact Homer recognizes two reasons: the abuse of the human freedom of the will, resulting in a hardened character, which is *atasthalie*; and something so terrible, so blinding, that men would fain disown it and impute it to the gods, the heaven-sent power of evil, which is *Ate*. Here, at last, is something satanic, a very Devil, who beguiles at times even the gods; and Zeus in turn would fain disown her,⁴ though he employs her for ends beyond men's understanding. However much the rôle of *Ate* in men's moral downfall was to be justified and regularized by later poets in a sequence,⁵ there is no moral justification for Homer's *Ate*. It is not the result of man's own freedom to sin (that is *atasthalie*); it is always external. Agamemnon pleads that not he himself was to blame for his share in the quarrel with Achilles, "but Zeus and *Moirā* and *Erinyes*, who cast angry *Ate* in his mind";⁶ and if it be urged that Agamemnon is merely seeking to excuse himself, let it be remembered that elsewhere Zeus is represented by the poet as wilfully deceptive.⁷ If Homer had been content to leave *Ate* a child of *Physis* (which she is), instead of making her a daughter of Zeus, much moral confusion might have been avoided.

¹ *Il.* 20, 127 f.; 24, 209 f.; 24, 525; *Od.* 1, 17; 3, 208; 7, 197.

² *Il.* 16, 386-388.

³ *Il.* 18, 290-292; 20, 306; *Od.* 4, 180 f.; 5, 339 f.; 5, 423; 23, 209-212. Cf. E. Tournier, *Nemesis et la Jalousie des Dieux* (Paris, 1863); F. Wehrli, *ΛΑΘΕ ΒΙΩΣΑΣ*. ⁴ *Il.* 19, 125-133. ⁵ See below, pp. 24 f.; 28; 32 f.

⁶ *Il.* 19, 86-88.

⁷ *Il.* 2, 1-40; 4, 70-72.

To ask, then, whether Homer believes in fate or in freedom of the will is to ask an idle question; like most men, he believes in both — in the power of external forces (*Moirā*, or Zeus), and in man's own choices. The double answer appears clearly in the words of Odysseus, over the dead bodies of the suitors: "These men hath the *Moirā* of the gods overcome *and* their own cruel deeds. . . . Wherefore they have met with an unseemly doom through their deeds of *atasthalie*."¹ Against any one-sided answer, and particularly against imputing every evil to the gods, Zeus himself protests in what may be called the *locus classicus* for this problem in Homer, in the council of the gods at the beginning of the *Odyssey*. "Lo, how vainly do mortals blame the gods! For from us do they say that evils come, whereas they themselves through their deeds of *atasthalie* bring sorrows beyond what is ordained,"² — that is, beyond the ills that are common to the condition of mortals, provoking the vengeance of the gods for attempting to disturb the moral equilibrium, and in the case of Aegisthus, to which Zeus refers, despite the express warning of the gods. There is no predestination here; rather an opportunity offered and refused.

Although the Homeric poems are above all else poems of heroic action, they contain incidentally a surprising amount of reflection on human life and destiny, sometimes in the form of brief gnomic utterances, traditional in character, and not especially appropriate to the speakers, sometimes developed into the *rhexis*. Such utterances, like that of Zeus, just mentioned, the accepted maxims and ideas of the epoch, were destined to be developed further by the elegiac poets; and they provide a running commentary on the action almost comparable to the lyric choruses of full-grown tragedy.

Since the ideas of the Homeric world were far from systematic or even consistent with regard to the relation of Fate and the gods to Good and Evil, there were *gnomai* to several different effects which Homer's characters could cite as occasion arose. It would be hard to find in Homer an ascription to Zeus or to the gods of human happiness unmingled with suffering. What appears at first to be such an ascription proves to be a consolation for hardship — the remark of Nausicaa to shipwrecked Odysseus.³ That the gods bestow on men a diversity

¹ *Od.* 22, 413-416.

² ὑπὲρ μόνον, *Od.* 1, 34.

³ *Od.* 6, 188-190.

of gifts is the theme of Odysseus himself, taunted by Euryalus for his unathletic appearance; and he develops the theme by antitheses, passing back and forth from one side of the matter to the other, in a style that was to be characteristic of the elegy.¹ That the gods are all-powerful is another commonplace, from which is deduced moreover a reflection on the grudging nature of gods who do so much less for man than they might.² Still more pointed is the reproach addressed to Zeus himself by Menelaus, exasperated by the Trojans, who, not content with having wantonly carried off his wife, are now insatiate of battle, apparently with the connivance of Zeus. "O father Zeus, they say that thou dost excel in wisdom all others, both men and gods; and all these things are from thee. How wondrously art thou favoring men of violence (*hybris*), even the Trojans!" etc.³ Here is the germ of the reproach, now bitter, now brooding, that later poets were to take up.⁴

Other Homeric *gnomai* crowd upon the memory. "By the event is even a fool made wise" is a saying with which both Menelaus and Achilles conclude speeches.⁵ The feebleness of man,⁶ man who is "even as the generations of leaves,"⁷ and the inevitability of death⁸ (a thought which does not deter Hector from battle, and which actually heightens the resolution of Sarpedon) — these are familiar commonplaces. Rare is the deeper note of pessimism and the incipient philosophy of history that meets us in the words of Athene, who, in the guise of Mentor, stirs up Telemachus with the idea of the progressive degeneracy of mankind: if he be indeed his father's son, he will act; if not, there is no hope. "For few children, to be sure, are like their father; the most are worse, yet a few are better than their sire."⁹

¹ *Od.* 8, 166-185. Cf. J. T. Stickney, *Les Sentences dans la Poésie grecque* (Paris, 1903), pp. 28-34; 94-96.

² *Od.* 10, 306; cf. *Il.* 13, 632; 16, 687-691; 19, 90.

³ *Il.* 13, 631-639. Here not only are "all things" ascribed to the gods but "all these things," things that revolt the moral sense. Cf. *Od.* 20, 201-203.

⁴ E.g., Theog. 373-392; 731-752. See below, pp. 28-30.

⁵ *Il.* 18, 32; 20, 198; cf. Hes. *Op.* 218.

⁶ *Od.* 18, 130 f.; cf. *Il.* 17, 446 f., in a quite different sense.

⁷ *Il.* 6, 145-149; cf. 21, 464-466, and echoes in Mimnermus, etc.

⁸ *Il.* 6, 487-489; 12, 322-328; *Od.* 16, 447.

⁹ *Od.* 2, 276 f. Note the antithetical gnomic form of expression; it was not

In two striking speeches put into the mouths of the two principal heroes of the respective poems, and throwing light on their characters, the philosophy of Fate, Good, and Evil is developed systematically and with an application to the special situation. In the last book of the *Iliad*, the "Ransoming of Hector," Priam and Achilles are brought together. Contrasted as strongly as possible, — Trojan with Greek, aged king with youthful warrior, weakness with fiery pride, — they are at last made equal by sorrow. To the moving appeal of Priam, Achilles in pity speaks his winged words:

Ah hapless man, many evils hast thou endured in thy heart. . . . But come now, sit upon a seat, and we will let our sorrows lie in our hearts, grieved though we be, for nothing availeth chill lament. For thus did the gods spin the lot for wretched mortals, that they should live in pain; but they themselves are sorrowless. For upon the floor of Zeus stand two Jars (*πίθου*) of the evil gifts that he giveth, and another of blessings. To whomsoever Zeus, whose joy is in the lightning, giveth a mingled lot, he chanceth now on evil, now on good; but to whomsoever he giveth only of the evil, him he bringeth to outrage, and evil hunger driveth him over the goodly earth, and he is a wanderer honored neither of gods nor of men.¹

And Achilles continues with a personal application of this thesis, first to the case of his own father, and then to the lot of Priam. "Endure," he concludes, "and lament not overmuch in thy heart; for nought wilt thou avail by grieving for thy son, nor wilt thou bring him to life ere thou suffer some new evil."² What is the kernel of this hard-earned philosophy of Achilles? Acceptance of the good, resignation before the evil, that the gods bestow, and at last a pity born of fellow-suffering.

In the course of his response to the kindly words of the half-decent suitor Amphinomus, Odysseus remarks:

Nothing feebler than man doth the earth nurture, of all the creatures that breathe and move upon the face of the earth. Lo, he thinketh that never shall he suffer evil in time to come, while the gods give him prosperity, and his limbs move easily. But when the blessed gods bring to pass evil things,

really to the point to mention an improvement of son over sire. The decline of successive generations will meet us again in Hesiod's Myth of the Ages of Men. See below, pp. 17-19.

¹ *Il.* 24, 518-533.

² *Il.* 24, 549-551.

these too he bears, though reluctantly, with steadfast heart. For the spirit of mortals is of the selfsame sort as the fortune (*ἥμαρ*) unto which the father of men and gods leadeth them. I, too, was once like to have been prosperous among men, but many a deed of *atasthalie* did I do, in hardihood and boldness of spirit, trusting in my father and my brethren. Wherefore let no man ever be lawless any more, but let him keep quietly the gifts of the gods, whatsoever they may give.¹

And the unknown Odysseus continues with an application of this general principle to the presumption of the suitors, who will surely be punished when Odysseus returns, and prays, too late as it proves,² that some *daimon* may withdraw Amphinomus from this encounter. Good and evil, it appears in this speech, are alike the gift of the gods; but man's own folly aggravates the evil or nullifies the good. Most striking is the mention of the "enduring spirit of man," commensurate with the fortunes that the gods bestow. This quality, whether it be a "grace" divinely vouchsafed or a moral good of human origin, is destined to play a great part in later Greek thought; good and evil, Odysseus suggests, are not merely objective "things" but are also attitudes of the mind. But neither Homer nor any other Greek will go so far as to say that "there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so"; evil is evil, but may be minimized by a manly endurance that rises to the occasion, and this is a good. And in the counsel to "keep quietly the gifts of the gods" Odysseus characteristically supplies the other half of his philosophy, the prudent acceptance of good in such a way as not to tempt Providence. The philosophy of the quiet life begins thus early, and comes well from one who has experienced the strenuous life.³

Homer's world is complete. If it preserves stubborn inconsistencies, of Nature and Law, of Fate and Free Will, of the things that are and the things that should be, of pessimism and courage, they are inconsistencies naively or frankly accepted, as eternal mysteries. If Homer looks back on ancient wars in heaven and the emergence of a new order, the wars are long past and the results accepted; certainly he entertains no hopes of a better order to come, and little fear of a worse.

¹ *Od.* 18, 130-142.

² *Od.* 18, 155.

³ Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 620 c-d; Odysseus in the Myth of Er chooses an obscure lot.

With Hesiod it is different. The sense of movement is all-important. The *Theogony* seeks to explain how the existing order of divinities came to be; the *Works and Days*, finding toil and injustice in the world, seeks to account for their genesis, and then to show how to make the best of a weary world.

We may well accept the *Theogony* not as by Hesiod but as Hesiodic, in the sense that it continues the Boeotian didactic tradition and is to be dated not long after Hesiod;¹ much of the matter is earlier, borrowing from ancient religious poetry, hymns and myths, Homeric or even pre-Homeric. In its attempt to classify the divine powers and define their relationships, it proceeds on two main principles. One is the idea of generation, or *Physis*, the struggle of the powers of Nature and the birth of successive *daimones*. Here there is little suggestion of good or evil; the poet is content to narrate. The other idea is that of progress, from anarchy and violence to order, with a climax in the triumph of Zeus over the Titans and the establishment of his reign.² And here, it is to be noted, it is definitely good that has triumphed over evil. Not that the poet is wholly consistent either with Homeric tradition or with himself. We note in particular the double pedigree of *Moirai*: first the *Moirai* are described as daughters of Night, along with *Moros*, the *Keres*, and *Nemesis* and other powers;³ they are birth-goddesses, "Klotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, who give men at their birth both evil and good to have," though they also punish the transgressions of men and of gods.⁴ Later, in the new régime, the *Moirai* appear, along with the *Horai* and *Eunomia* and *Dike* and *Eirene*, as the honored daughters of Zeus and Themis, dispensing evil and good.⁵ But they have nothing to do with the philosophy of history of the *Theogony*, such as it is.⁶ The truth of the matter is that the poet is but slightly concerned with justice and human good and evil. Even the myth of Prometheus, as he tells it, is partly aetiological,⁷ and partly told to

¹ For a brief defence of Hesiodic authorship of the *Theogony* cf. P. Mazon, *Hésiode* (Paris, 1928), pp. 3 f.

² Hesiod, *Theog.* 881-885.

³ 211-225.

⁴ 217-222.

⁵ 904 f.

⁶ The idea of Fate behind the successive dynasties is slight; but note 464; 475; 894.

⁷ *Theog.* 556 f.

enforce the moral that "it is not possible to deceive Zeus."¹ The poet is a priest.

Hesiod, on the other hand, the author of the *Works and Days*, is a prophet.² He, too, knows his Homer, and the Boeotian traditional didactic poetry, and the oracles that are coming from Delphi on the further side of Parnassus,³ as well as the proverbial sayings and fables that one might hear in winter at the crowded *lesche* of the smithy.⁴ But he is smarting under the sense of social and personal injustices, and his whole poem is, among other things, a protest against *hybris* and a plea for *dike*. He wishes to believe that the just flourish,⁵ and that the gods punish injustice;⁶ indeed he contrasts Nature, "red of tooth and claw," with man, whose distinguishing mark is justice.⁷ But it is hard to believe; so often, in his Iron Age, do the facts belie his faith. "The earth is full of evils and the sea is full."⁸ Disease stalks silently abroad;⁹ Zeus himself, for all his power and justice,¹⁰ oft punishes a whole city for the sin of one evil man.¹¹ And the alternative to injustice is, for most men, back-breaking toil. How can Hesiod reconcile all this?

To be honest, he cannot reconcile it wholly. He can repeat traditional sentiments, but despite his attempts at a systematic "didactic and admonitory epistle"¹² his gift is not consistency, skill in

¹ *Id.* 613.

² Cf. T. A. Sinclair, *Hesiod, Works and Days* (London, 1932), Intro., Chap. III, "The Prophet of Justice."

³ Hes. *Op.* 285; cf. Herod. 6, 86.

⁴ Hes. *Op.* 493.

⁵ 225-237.

⁶ 249-264.

⁷ 276-280.

⁸ 101.

⁹ 102-104.

¹⁰ 5-8; cf. *Od.* 16, 211 ff.; *Il.* 20, 242.

¹¹ Hes. *Op.* 240-247; cf. 260-262. These are the first gnomic expressions in Greek literature of the theory of vicarious atonement by one person or by a people for the wickedness of another, and are given as proof of the justice and power of Zeus, which are not questioned by Hesiod. Narratives illustrating such vicarious atonement are, of course, abundant; cf. *Il.* 1, 9-12; Hes. *Op.* 47-49. Probably the notion, as found in Homer and Hesiod, is rooted in the primitive feeling that the prosperity of a people depends on the magical powers of their king or (later) on his righteousness; cf. *Od.* 19, 109-114, and Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae*, p. 220. For the punishment of the innocent children of the guilty, cf. Solon (below, p. 23); contrast Theognis (below, pp. 29 f.).

¹² Sinclair, *op. cit.*, p. x.

architectonic structure; rather he writes what may well be called "paragraph poetry,"¹ with awkward transitions and superfluous antitheses like those characteristic of the later elegy. But he does stubbornly attempt to explain the genesis of evil and toil, in two famous myths; and he attempts also to suggest to Perses what can be done to make a virtue of necessity by finding a good in toil.

We are not likely to understand Hesiod's use of the story of Prometheus² unless we constantly remember that it is introduced wholly in order to account for the origin of toil, and that toil is, in the myth, regarded as wholly evil. Toil was not always necessary;³ it is part of the penalty inflicted by Zeus in his anger at the original deception of Prometheus in the matter of the sacrifice.⁴ After Zeus had hidden men's means of livelihood⁵ and fire,⁶ and Prometheus had retaliated by stealing fire back again,⁷ Zeus in reprisal⁸ sent Pandora, from whose *pitheos* issued all the evils of men.⁹ The unnamed woman in the myth of the *Theogony* is represented by the misogynist author, somewhat in the vein of Semonides of Amorgus, as herself evil and as the source of evil;¹⁰ Pandora in the *Works and Days* is the innocent but baleful

¹ Cf. Stickney, *Sentences*, pp. 58; 65.

² Clearly a traditional story; from it Hesiod appropriates in an allusive style only what he needs for his purpose, as does the author of the *Theogony*. Hesiod, for example, but not the *Theogony*, omits the story of the final punishment of Prometheus. Originally the myth doubtless grew out of the hostility of the Titan Prometheus to the Olympians, and his attempt to upset the equilibrium (*moira*) of Zeus. With this is combined the conflict between the native Prometheus, a culture-hero, and his rival the oriental, but naturalized, Hephaestus. Cf. L. Malten, *P. W.*, s. v. *Hephaistos*.

³ Hes. *Op.* 90-92; cf. 43-46; 111 f.

⁴ The story of the sacrifice, not recounted here, as irrelevant, appears in *Theog.* 535-564.

⁵ *Op.* 47; sc. *βλοη* from 42.

⁶ 50.

⁷ *αἴτις*, 50; there should be no question that Hesiod, unlike Aeschylus, thought of fire as originally available to man.

⁸ *Op.* 57.

⁹ *κῆδεα λυγρὰ*, 95, apparently referring to the evils just described in 91-92, rather than to the more remote gifts mentioned in 82.

¹⁰ *Theog.* 570-612; cf. Sem. Amorg. 7, esp. ll. 1, 21 f., 68, 71 f., 94-118. All citations from the elegiac and iambic poets are from E. Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica* (Leipzig, 1922-25).

creature whose *pithos* (abruptly mentioned) holds and sends forth all evils, — all save *Elpis*. Why does Hope remain in the *pithos*? Because it is a good, or because it is an evil? Because it is available to man, or because it is denied to man? I agree with T. A. Sinclair¹ that it is not to the purpose to collect passages from Greek literature proving that Hope is sometimes a good, sometimes an evil; but I do not accept his contention that Hope is imprisoned because she is denied to man, whose condition is "hopeless." Better is the suggestion of S. M. Adams² that Hesiod "is drawing a distinction between those evils for which man is at least partially responsible and those others which assail him for no ascertainable cause."

The vindictiveness of Zeus, and the plight of mankind, at all points worse off than before, are the two essential elements in this myth of degeneration, which ends, as does the myth of the *Theogony*, with the moral that there is no way to escape from the will of Zeus.³ Here is indeed matter for tragedy, if not for irony, in the spectacle of the good intentions of Prometheus frustrated. Or is it rather satire on the supposed blessings of civilization, the attempt of *technē* to supplant *physis*?⁴ Or are we, with W. Headlam,⁵ to see in Prometheus, not the benefactor of man, the culture-hero, but the serpent who caused man to leave the Garden of Eden? The suggestion is tempting; but it is only from the point of view of Zeus that Prometheus is evil; and the Zeus of Hesiod's myth is himself anything but kindly. We must read neither Aeschylus nor Shelley into Hesiod.⁶ Nor should we identify the toil of the myth, which is an evil, with the noble kind of strife mentioned early in the *Works and Days*.⁷ The two are cleverly fused, to be sure, by Virgil,⁸ and developed in the gospel of toil, which is

¹ Sinclair, *Hesiod*, p. 13.

² "Hesiod's Pandora," *C. R.* XLVI (1932), pp. 193-196. Convincing also is the suggestion that in the *πῖθος* Hesiod is combining the idea of Homer's *πίθος* with the idea of the Pithoigia. Cf. J. E. Harrison, "Pandora's Box," *J. H. S.* XX (1900), pp. 99-114.

³ Hes. *Op.* 105; cf. *Theog.* 613.

⁴ Cf. F. Wehrli, *ΔΑΘΕ ΒΙΩΣΑΣ*, p. 63; E. Tournier, *Nemesis*, pp. 9-14.

⁵ "Prometheus and the Garden of Eden," *C. Q.* XXVIII (1934), pp. 63-71.

⁶ Nor even Horace, despite the similarities detected by E. K. Rand, in "Horatian Urbanity in Hesiod's 'Works and Days,'" *A. J. P.* XXXII (1911), pp. 131-165.

⁷ Hes. *Op.* 17-24.

⁸ *Georg.* I, 121 f.: *pater ipse colendi | haud facilem esse viam voluit*, etc.

Hesiodic, despite the myth of Prometheus. Virgilian *labor*, however, is not Hesiodic *πόνος*.¹

Degeneration and the inevitability of toil are the themes also of the Myth of the Ages, which immediately follows. Instead of the dynastic sequence of the *Theogony*, moving from chaos to order, it presents a dissolving view of steady physical and moral decline. The Golden Age, the "dream of a tired peasant," as M. Croiset well called it,² the age of primitive innocence, of the "good old days," is painted with a

¹ See below, pp. 18 f.

² *Hist. de la Litt. grecque*³ (Paris, 1910), I, p. 506. Cf. J. R. Lowell, *Literary Essays*, II (Boston, 1892), p. 98: "From the days of the first grandfather, everybody has remembered a golden age behind him. No doubt Adam depreciated the apple which the little Cain on his knee was crunching, by comparison with those he himself had tasted in Eden." By this reasoning, the first grandfather, or perhaps Adam himself, was the first *laudator temporis acti*. There are surprisingly few traces of such an attitude in Homer; it begins in earnest in Hesiod. On the Ages generally and especially on the Golden Age and on the later tradition of the idea, among mystics, philosophers, and poets, Greek and Roman, see further: H. T. Buckle, *Hist. of Civilization in England*, I (New York, 1858), p. 96 (on the idea of the Golden Age as a phase of an irrational and erroneous "indulgence of a poetic sentiment in favour of the remote and unknown"); E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I (New York, ed. of 1920), pp. 26-39, on "progression-theories" and "degeneration-theories" of civilization (both spring from theology rather than from history, which recognizes a "development-theory"); G. Norlin, "Ethnology and the Golden Age," *C. P.* XII (1917), pp. 351-364, on the tendency of the Greeks to see the past (and contemporary barbarians) as happy or as unhappy by contrast with the disillusionment or with the success of their own epochs; J. A. K. Thomson, *Greeks and Barbarians* (London, 1921), pp. 13-31, for racial contrasts; W. R. Hardie, "The Age of Gold," in *Lectures on Classical Subjects* (London, 1903), pp. 102-131; E. Graf, "Ad aureae Aetatis Fabulam Symbola," *Leipziger Studien zur cl. Philol.* VIII (1885), pp. 1-84; K. F. Smith, "Ages of the World (Greek and Roman)," in Hastings, *Enc. of Rel. and Eth.* I, pp. 192-200; also his *Elegies of Albius Tibullus* (New York, 1913), notes on Tib. 1, 3, 35-48, and on 1, 3, 45-46; K. Seeliger, "Weltalter," in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex. s.v.* (For several of these references I am indebted to the kindness of Professor A. S. Pease.) Of the ideas found in later elaborations of the Golden Age, several, though not all, are implicit in Hesiod: the rule of Kronos (Saturn), not of Zeus (Jupiter); blessings that come of their own accord, without toil; piety; communism; vegetarianism; the simple life, according to nature, without the arts and sciences, and without navigation, trade, or war. That man's fall came through his restless invention of these dangerous devices, is a later notion. With the contrary idea of the progress of man (cf. Aesch. *P. V.* 440-455; Lucret. 5, 925-1457), and with the idea that the Golden Age may return

nostalgic longing. Kronos, not the brutal Titan of the *Theogony*, but the kindly earth-*daimon* of the lingering ritual of the Kronia, gives place to Zeus, one infers, at the end of the Golden Age; kindly *physis* and the sweet disorder of the ἀρχαῖος βίος¹ to the *nomos* and tolerated *hybris* of later ages; union with the gods² to enmity and the appearance of intermediate *daimones*; ease and abundance to toil; good to evil.

In his masterly analysis of the sequence of the ages, E. Meyer³ calls attention to the inevitable moral decline that accompanies the natural degeneration from gold to silver (a pair of fantasy pictures), and from bronze to iron (pictures based on some understanding of history).⁴ The idleness of the Golden Age leads to the enervation and the presumption of the Silver Age; the physical violence of the bronze men leads to the impiety and intellectual craftiness of the iron men. A tribute to Homer may be read in the Age of Heroes that interrupts the scheme; their violence is tempered by their justice.⁵ And this momentary halt in the hitherto steady degeneration of the ages may suggest that Hesiod sees a ray of hope for better days to follow him.⁶

The Myth of the Ages is more than a philosophy of history; it has its moral for Perses. Even a Utopia of idleness cannot last, but leads to degeneration; nor can the resort to intellect, a stronger tool than brute force, survive if it leads to mere craftiness and injustice. The moral is, then, that Perses had better not trust to Utopian dreams of wealth easily to be won, or to injustice; he had better be upright, and work.⁷ The point is helped by the apparent freedom of will granted

(cf. Plato, *Polit.* 269c; Virg. *Buc.* 4) we are not here concerned; Hesiod's interest is in explaining how evil entered the world.

¹ Cf. *Od.* 9, 106-115.

² Hes. *Op.* 108; 112; 120.

³ "Hesiods Erga und das Gedicht von den fünf Menschengeschlechtern," in *Kleine Schriften*, II (Halle, 1924), pp. 17-66.

⁴ Cf. T. R. Glover, "Metallurgy and Democracy," in *Greek Byways* (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 58-77.

⁵ *Op.* 158.

⁶ So, too, in line 175 (if it is authentic): ἡ πρόσθε θανεῖν ἢ ἔπειτα γενέσθαι. (H. G. Evelyn-White, *C. R.* XXX (1916), p. 72, finds in lines 169c-201 evidence of double recension, both versions being Hesiodic.) But not too much is to be made of this passing antithetical remark. Cf. *Od.* 2, 276 f.; see above, p. 10.

⁷ Meyer, "Hesiods Erga," pp. 56 f.

to the successive generations. To be sure, the stage is set and the story manipulated more mechanically than in Plato's account of the progressive decline of society in the *Republic*;¹ and each race lives up to the quality bestowed by its creator, and is "in character." Yet the illusion exists that each race could act otherwise if it willed so to do; certainly to each race except the men of gold and the heroes blame is attached for its conduct, and the men of silver and of iron definitely incur the anger of their creator,² whereas the men of gold and the heroes earn a kind of blessed immortality.³ Perses had better be warned betimes.

As in the Myth of Prometheus, so in the Myth of the Ages the anger of Zeus has brought on man the necessity of toil. But a virtue may be made of this necessity; a peasant may attain to a philosophy of hardship and manly endurance as noble in its way as that of Achilles or Odysseus. If "the gods have placed between us and goodness the sweat of our brows,"⁴ and a long, steep way, the way becomes easier through resolution.⁵ This is the noble kind of *Eris*, appointed by Zeus, which is good for men.⁶ Note that Hesiod does not say that Zeus appointed it for man's good; it is man's discovery, despite the niggardliness of the gods, that toil brings courage, intelligence, and satisfaction, as well as wealth to offset what Zeus concealed from man.⁷ What is more, men who deal justly with their fellows find that something like the Golden Age returns among men, and "with merry-making they tend the fields which are all their care."⁸

The leaven of Homer and of Hesiod was at work in the seventh and sixth centuries, in which elegiac and iambic verse made familiar to

¹ Books VIII and IX.

² Hes. *Op.* 138; 180.

³ *Op.* 116-126; 166-169b. I venture to differ with Meyer's remark (44) about the identity of the *δαίμονες ἀγροὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι* (l. 122). I agree that they are not the 3000 *ἀθάνατοι φύλακες* of l. 253 (as Hild supposes, *Démons*, p. 88; apparently so also E. Rohde, *Psyche*, Eng. Trans., New York, 1925, pp. 70-72), despite the similarity of their functions. But they are not, as Meyer strangely states, Kronos and the Titans; surely they are simply the men of the Golden Age (109-120) just mentioned as *τοῦτο γένος* (121).

⁴ *Op.* 289 f.; cf. Simonides, 37.

⁵ *Op.* 291-293.

⁷ *Op.* 293-319.

⁶ 17-24.

⁸ 231; cf. 225-237.

men the proverbial wisdom of the Greek race. Whatever view be taken of the origin and use of the elegy during the earlier part of its career, it is clear at least that it is accretional, full of phrases and commonplaces echoed from epic and from earlier elegy, sometimes twisted into new uses; that it is full of antitheses, and lacking in consistency and systematic structure; and that it tends ordinarily to preserve a gnomic character, addressing itself to a definite listener or reader, or, in a special social setting, to a group.¹

Homeric diction² and Homeric ideas naturally color the elegies of Callinus and Tyrtaeus, and even of Mimnermus. That death, the *μοῖρα θανάτου*, is inevitable, but that if it be met in a manly fashion it is glorious, is a recurrent theme in the more martial poets.³ In Mimnermus, of course, it is the negative aspect that prevails: man's life like the leaves, the woes that Zeus bestows, the hatefulness of old age.⁴ In his passionate conviction that after youth has passed life is not worth living, Mimnermus almost anticipates the even more overwhelmingly pessimistic commonplace, first phrased by Theognis, that it were best never to have been born;⁵ yet Mimnermus clutches at the fleeting joys of youth, less wise than Epicurus and Horace, or even than Archilochus.

The pessimism of Semonides of Amorgus extends beyond his misogyny to a vast distrust of Zeus and all his works. In a poem preserved by Stobaeus in the long section entitled "That life is short, of little account, and full of cares," Semonides ascribes to Zeus omnipotence, to man a stupid gullibility, and proceeds to show how all man's hopes are cheated by age or by death: "So true is it that nothing is without ills; nay ten thousand are the dooms of men and their woes and sorrows past reckoning."⁶

¹ Stickney, *Sentences*, pp. 79-102; R. Reitzenstein, *Epigramm und Skolion* (Giessen, 1893), pp. 49-86.

² For the diction, cf. T. Hudson-Williams, *Early Greek Elegy* (Cardiff, 1926).

³ Callinus, 1, 8; 1, 12-15; Tyrtaeus, 5, 5; 6; 7; 8, 5 f.; 9, 35.

⁴ Mimnermus, 2; cf. *Il.* 6, 146-149; 9, 410-416; Semon. Amorg. 29; Mimn. 4, 2; 1, 10; 6, 2.

⁵ Mimn. 2, 10: *τεθνάμεναι βέλτιον ἢ βίωτος*. Cf. 4; Theognis, 425, and other poets, cited below, p. 31.

⁶ Stobaeus, *Fl.* (ed. Wachsmuth and Hense), 98, 16; Semon. Amorg. 1. For Solon's use of this poem and of 29, in his "Prayer to the Muses," see below, p. 24.

That remarkable soldier of fortune, Archilochus, whom the ancients admired so greatly as to puzzle many modern critics, was an innovator in many ways; and this, together with his abounding verve, is perhaps what the ancients chiefly admired in him. Even in dealing with our present theme he is a pioneer, though less in thought than in expression, and though not attaining to consistency. What controls man's destiny? In two, or possibly three, gnomic fragments Archilochus answers the question. *πάντα τύχη καὶ μοῖρα*, Περικλέες, ἀνδρὶ δίδωσιν.¹ The attribution of all things to *moira* is Homeric enough; but the introduction of *tyche* is a new note in Greek poetry.² Yet again it may be Archilochus who writes: *πάντα πόνος τεύχει θνητοῖς μελέτη τε βροτεῖη*,³ which has a Hesiodic ring. Elsewhere he counsels: *τοῖς θεοῖς τιθεῖο πάντα*, and gives us the first example of the commonplace, developed by Solon and others, that the gods raise upright the fallen and overthrow the prosperous.⁴ That there is nothing in the world that man need not expect or that he should swear impossible or marvellous, in view of the eclipse that Zeus has caused, is the moral that the poet puts into the mouth of "the father." Both the turn of phrase of the first lines,

*χρημάτων ἄελπτον οὐδέν ἐστιν οὐδ' ἀώμοτον
οὐδὲ θαυμάσιον, κτλ.,*

and the development of the series of impossibilities now to be expected (beasts and dolphins exchanging their haunts, etc.), institute new and fruitful motives in Greek (and Latin) poetry.⁵

Homeric, once more, is the counsel of *τλημοσύνη* (though not the

¹ Archil. 8. For *Τύχη* personified, cf. the "Archilochus Monument," as restored by J. M. Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus* (Loeb ed.), II, p. 164, lines 56-58.

² I am not overlooking Hes. *Theog.* 360, a hint as yet undeveloped. Hom. *Hymn.* 11, 5 is later.

³ Archil. 14. The attribution to Archilochus is doubtful.

⁴ Archil. 58, the "Magnificat" (with a difference) of Archilochus. Cf. Solon, 1, 65-70 (see below, pp. 23 f.); Sem. Amorg. 1, more pessimistically (see above, p. 20).

⁵ Archil. 74; Arist. *Rhet.* 1418b 28; cf. Theognis, 659: οὐδ' ὁμόσαι χρὴ τοῖθ', *ὅτι μή ποτε πρῆγμα τόδ' ἐσται*. For the later history of the idea, cf. H. V. Canter, "The Figure ΑΔΤΝΑΤΟΝ in Greek and Latin Poetry," *A. J. P.* LI (1930), pp. 32-41.

word itself ¹) that Archilochus addresses to Pericles, manly endurance which is the remedy that the gods have ordained for woes that are incurable, such as afflict one man to-day and another to-morrow, and are not to be alleviated by womanish grief.² The thought is that of Achilles and Odysseus,³ but the turn of phrase is new, and is to be echoed frequently by Theognis and later poets.⁴ Novel, too, and destined to be imitated, is the self-address of another fragment, in which the poet bids his soul, confounded by hopeless troubles, to rise up and defend itself, not too exultant at victory, not too much vexed by evils.⁵ But Archilochus, be it noted, does not stress, as do Solon and even Theognis, the worth of virtue and piety in attaining to peace of mind. For all his protestation that the gods control the world,⁶ it is *τύχη* and *μοῖρα* that apparently are in his thought the sovereign dispensers of men's goods and evils,⁷ and *πόνος* and *μελέτη βροτεῖη*⁸ and *τλημοσύνη*⁹ that win for men in an inscrutable and largely unfriendly world such happiness as they can hope for. And perhaps he is speaking for himself in the resolute and independent words which, according to Aristotle, he puts in the mouth of Charon the carpenter, the despiser of the wealth of Gyges.¹⁰

Not for any new thought bearing on our problem is Solon important, but for his determined setting forth of accepted Greek views about justice and moderation and order, and for his attempt to apply them in practise to a world that was inclined to forget them.¹¹ Furthermore

¹ Cf. Hudson-Williams, *Early Greek Elegy*, p. 87.

² Archil. 7; cf. 11: *κρύπτωμεν <δ'> ἀνιρὰ Ποσειδάωνος ἀνακτος | δῶρα*, the "dreadful gifts of Poseidon" apparently referring to a shipwreck.

³ See above, pp. 11 f.

⁴ Theog. 591-592; 355-360; 441-446; 991-992; see below, p. 34; cf. Wehrli, *ΛΑΘΕ ΒΙΩΣΑΣ*, pp. 14-20.

⁵ Archil. 67a: *θυμέ, θυμ' ἀμηχάνοισι κήδεσιν κυκώμενε, ἀνάδν, κτλ.*; cf. Theog. 1029-1036: *τόλμα, θυμέ, κακοῖσιν ὅμως ἄτλητα πεπονθώς, κτλ.*; also 393-398; 593-594; 657-658; and see below, p. 34.

⁶ Archil. 58.

⁷ Archil. 8.

⁸ Archil. 14.

⁹ Archil. 7.

¹⁰ Archil. 22; Arist. *Rhet.* 1418b 42.

¹¹ Cf. in general the account of I. M. Linforth, *Solon the Athenian* (Berkeley, Cal., 1919), esp. pp. 104-123.

he gave definite form for the first time to a creed, hitherto vaguely held, about the moral decline of man. Though it is impossible to arrange with certainty all the fragments, we shall not do violence to the probable development of his thought if we suppose that the longest poem, the "Prayer to the Muses,"¹ comes fairly early in his life, before his political activity, and expresses the inherited and tested creed of an Athenian gentleman who has engaged in trade.² Throughout the first part of the poem (ll. 1-32), the emphasis is on justice, the security of wealth justly won with the approval of the gods, and the retribution that attends injustice³ — if not immediately, at any rate in the end, perhaps striking the innocent children of those guilty persons who have themselves escaped the *θεῶν μοῖρα*. (Solon accepts this doctrine without criticism, and without any suggestion of Orphic beliefs of punishment in another world.) So far Solon's attitude is one of conservative piety; the gods are just, *ate* follows *hybris*, and meets with retribution (*τισις*); Zeus oversees all, and his vengeance is as sure, though perhaps not as swift, as the clearing away of the clouds in spring by the wind. That is, moral law is as certain as *Physis*. Both a deep-seated moral conviction of the power of justice and observation of the world of affairs impel Solon to dread ill-gotten gains and to proclaim that justice is the best policy.

Observation, however, has taught Solon also something about the vicissitudes of life. The second part of the poem (ll. 33-76) therefore emphasizes the uncertainty of man's lot and his various undertakings and the deceptiveness of his hopes; both good and evil come from *Moirai*,⁴ and the gifts of the gods may not be refused;⁵ so inscrutable is their will that they often afflict with great and sore *ate* him who strives to act nobly,⁶ and to another who is acting ill God gives good fortune and a release from his folly.⁷ Here the justice of the gods seems

¹ Solon, 1.

² Cf. M. Croiset, *C.-R. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* (Paris, 1903), pp. 581-596; Linforth, *Solon*, p. 104.

³ Hesiod provides a close parallel, *Op.* 320-326; the thought recurs in Theognis, 197-208 (see below, pp. 28 f.).

⁴ Solon, 1, 63.

⁵ 1, 64.

⁶ Solon, 1, 67; cf. Archil. 58.

⁷ Solon, 1, 70; i.e., a pardon of his folly (*ἀφροσύνη*), and a cancellation of its consequences.

at first sight almost to be doubted, or at least not emphasized. The point has already been made in similar terms by Semonides of Amorgus,¹ but with a counsel of utter despair. Yet if we are right in supposing that Solon, for all his conventional reference to *Moira*, believed that men have a full measure of responsibility for their careers, and if moreover we may agree with F. Wehrli² in taking ἐξ αὐτῶν (l. 75) as referring to the men themselves, as the source of *ate*, rather than to the κέρδεα (l. 74) bestowed by the gods, we shall conclude with Solon that though wealth is the root of all evil, it is not wealth alone but the greed that it so often engenders that works ruin. And Solon ends the poem, as he all but begins it, on the note of retribution.³ Unexplained, and perhaps unexplainable, is the affliction with *ate* of even him who is striving to do nobly;⁴ here is the stubborn residuum of evil that every philosophy finds it difficult to justify on purely moral grounds. Solon accepts it in the spirit of faith, and returns to his convictions.

Not absolute consistency, then, but a faith maintained in spite of misgivings,⁵ is the achievement of this poem. Nor is it perfectly constructed as a work of art, despite the attempts of H. Weil and others to discover in it a strophic structure;⁶ it is still "paragraph poetry," loosely composed of elegiac couplets, and breaking into two main parts. Nevertheless it traces with something like a system for the first

¹ Sem. Amorg. 1; cf. 29. See above, p. 20.

² Wehrli, ΛΑΘΕ ΒΙΩΣΑΣ, p. 12, n. 1. K. Reinhardt, *R. M.* LXXI (1916), p. 132, though not quite explicit, seems to take the words in the same sense. Linforth, *Solon*, pp. 241 f., rejects a similar suggestion by Kynaston, and consequently has to hold (p. 110) that "this time [i.e., at the end of the poem] there is no distinction between honest and dishonest riches." Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 263; 267, also retains the older interpretation. Cf. *Od.* 1, 32; W. Jaeger, *Sitzber. preuss. Akad. Wiss.* (Berlin, 1926), p. 74.

³ *N. b.* τεισομένην (76); if Zeus sends *ate*, it is not arbitrarily but in just recompense.

⁴ Solon, 1, 67. This is of the essence of tragedy, though it provides no theory of the nature of the tragic ἀμαρτία.

⁵ Linforth, *Solon*, p. 111, calls it "the normal attitude of pious perplexity." The more positive description of Solon's position applies also to Solon, 4, 9-10 (cf. Theog. 315-318); the more negative description to Solon, 17: πάντη δ' ἀθανάτων ἀφανὴς νόος ἀνθρώποισιν, and to 16.

⁶ Cf. Linforth, *Solon*, pp. 242 f.

time in Greek poetry the moral decline of man; and it is to be noted that, allowing for one or two ellipses, the sequence is identical in the two parts of the poem: *πλοῦτος* (9; 71); *κόρος* (not mentioned in the first part; 73); *ὑβρις* (11, 16; not mentioned in the last part, but perhaps implied in *ἐξ αὐτῶν*, 75); *ἄτη* (13; 75); *τίσις* (25, 29; 76).

This generalized creed Solon proceeds in another poem¹ to apply to the grievous plight of Athens, afflicted not by "the *aisa* of Zeus or the will of the blessed immortal gods," but by the folly and greed of her own people, whose *hybris* leads to injustice; they give no heed to justice, who, though now silent, will in time demand retribution. The moral which Solon proclaims is the need of *eunomia*, the practical expression of justice, to check *koros* and make *hybris* dim and wither budding *ate*.² Here is an explanation of human good and evil in purely human terms, albeit under the rule of friendly and powerful gods. The pedigree of *hybris* is vaguely suggested once more.

Possibly it is only a little later, and still before his political reforms, that Solon, an aristocrat whose career and personal fortune have made of him a member of the middle class, as Aristotle remarks, "urges the rich not to be greedy."³ "Calm the eager tumult of your hearts. Ye have forced your way to a surfeit (*κόρος*) of good things; confine your swelling thoughts within moderate bounds," etc.⁴ Almost certainly it is after the archonship that he phrases, in an appeal to the *demos* to find a mean between excessive freedom and excessive restraint, the classic statement of the pedigree of *hybris*, though without tracing its consequences: "For *koros* giveth birth to *hybris*, when great prosperity (*ὄλβος*) followeth after men whose minds are not sound."⁵ Once more the emphasis is on human responsibility and sanity of mind, not on fatalism or jealous gods. And still later, after the tyranny of the Peisistratids is established, Solon writes: "If ye have suffered the dire consequences of your own fault, blame not the gods for this evil fortune; ye have yourselves exalted these men," etc.⁶

¹ Solon, 3. ² Cf. further Jaeger, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-85. ³ Arist. 'Αθ. Πολ. 5.

⁴ Solon, 4, 5-8; cf. 23, 16-24; 24; 25, written after the reforms.

⁵ Solon, 5, 9-10; cf. Theog. 153 f., noting his change; see below, pp. 35 f. The idea is doubtless proverbial before Solon, but hardly the definite expression, despite the citation of the hexameter by the schol. on Pindar, *Ol.* 13, 12, as Homer's.

⁶ Solon, 8.

Even so robust a figure as Solon provides at least one passage for the melancholy section of Stobaeus devoted to the proposition "that life is short, of little account, and full of cares": "Nor is any mortal happy, but wretched are all they upon whom the sun looks down."¹ Such pessimism, one may suppose, came late in Solon's life, as the fruit of disappointment. He stops short, however, of declaring that it were better never to have been born.² And it is tempting to suppose further that it was largely from this couplet, and any others like it that he may have written, that Herodotus or his informant manufactured the famous story of the interview between Solon and Croesus, and Solon's reluctance to count a man happy before his death has ended a perfect life.³ But Solon's retort to Mimnermus, setting four-score years as the goal of a good life, argues no bitterness of spirit.⁴

The work that has come down to us under the name of Theognis represents the ideas that prevailed in the late sixth century. Accepting as authentic at least the first book, which is all that happens to concern our problem, and even the passages borrowed from Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, and Solon as deliberately borrowed and exploited for a purpose,⁵ we have as in the *Works and Days* a body of verse, mainly didactic, and addressed mainly to an individual, though it lends itself also to sympotic and to educational uses. It likewise attempts a sys-

¹ Stob. *Fl.* (ed. Wachsmuth and Hense), 98, 23; Solon, 15. Cf. Theog. 167-168, and see below, p. 30.

² See below, p. 31.

³ Hdt. 1, 32; cf. 1, 31, the tale of Cleobis and Biton with the moral *ὥς ἀμεινον εἶη ἀνθρώπων τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν*; 86, Croesus on the pyre remembers the "inspired saying of Solon," *τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζώντων δαβιον*. Cf. further Theognis, 161-164 (see below, p. 27); Soph. *O. T.* 1528-1530; Eur. *Androm.* 100-102, and schol. *ad. loc.*; *Troiad.* 509 f.; Aristotle on Solon's dictum, *Eth. N.* 1100a 10-1101a 21.

⁴ Solon, 22.

⁵ Cf. E. Harrison, *Studies in Theognis* (Cambridge, 1902), pp. 100-120; *pace* T. Hudson-Williams, *The Elegies of Theognis* (London, 1910), pp. 43-50; 74-78. The whole matter of appropriation in Theognis should be studied further in the light of the methods of Greek poetry generally; Clem. Al. *Str.* 6, 2, on plagiarism, provides a starting-point, for material, if not for treatment. Since these words were written there has appeared the paper of T. W. Allen, "Theognis" (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XX), which strongly supports the integrity of the Theognidean corpus by a study of Greek *paradiorthosis* in general.

tematic discussion of good and evil in human life, and is fraught with inconsistencies, achieving at best a balance of conflicting half-truths. It is for the most part still "paragraph poetry," still antithetical in style, a composite of traditional nuggets, loosely connected, and suggesting a collection, a sort of Greek *satura*; it invites comparison with the Hebrew *Book of Proverbs*, with *Poor Richard's Almanack*, and with Martin Farquhar Tupper's *Proverbial Philosophy: A Book of Thoughts and Arguments Originally Treated*. The poet expressly tells Cynrus: "I shall give thee the counsels that I learned from good men when I was a lad;"¹ yet he, like Solon, reckons with the political stress of his age, ever fearing the fruits of *hybris* and *stasis*.² Both poets stress human responsibility for human evils; the difference is in the narrower political sympathies of the later poet and his deeper pessimism.

The order of the parts is not of great significance, especially after the first 254 lines; no injustice will be done to the thought of Theognis if we make a cento of the passages that bear upon our problem. So abundant is the material that we must be content for the most part to select one or two passages to illustrate each theme, giving mere references to other passages of similar import.

Of especial prominence is the old thought that "man proposes, but God disposes."

No man is himself the cause of loss (*ἄτη*) and gain (*κέρδος*), Cynrus; the gods are the givers of them both; nor doth any that laboreth know in his heart whether he moveth to a good end or to a bad. For often when he thinketh he shall do evil he doeth good, and doeth evil when he thinketh he shall do good. Nor doth any man get what he wisheth; for the barriers of sore perplexity hold him back. We men consider vain things, knowing naught, while the gods accomplish all according to their own mind.³

The gods are not only omnipotent but inscrutable. "'Tis very hard to understand how God will accomplish the end of a matter yet un-

¹ Theog. 27 f.

² Theog. 39-42; cf. 43-52; Solon, 3 and 8.

³ Theog. 133-142. (Contrast 833-836; see below, p. 33.) Cf. 155-158, noting the figure of the scale of Zeus, 157; (cf. 169-170; 171-172); 161-164, noting the rôles of the *daimon*, both good and evil (cf. 165 f.; 349 f.), and the uncertainty of the *τέλος*, as well as the antithetical structure of the quatrain; 1187-1190, the inevitability of death and misfortunes (controlled by *μοῖρα*) and of care (sent by *θεός*).

done; for there is darkness outstretched, and the barriers of perplexity are not for mortals to comprehend, before what is to be.”¹ Elsewhere, in an echo of Solon’s comparison between the secure possessions won justly from Zeus and the fruits of injustice for which the gods require retribution, Theognis, like Solon, accepts without question the doctrine that the malefactor’s innocent children may suffer for his sins; but he stresses not so much the certainty of the retribution as the uncertainty of the moment when it may strike: “in the end [unjust gain] becometh evil, and the mind of the gods overcometh [the offender]; but these things deceive men’s understanding, for the Blessed Ones demand not retribution for wrongdoing at the moment,” etc.²

Such inscrutability amounts almost to ill-will or niggardliness on the part of the gods; and a belief in that, too, and in the unsatisfactory character of the gifts of the gods finds a place in the creed of Theognis.³ In fact the prosperity of the wicked troubles Theognis, like many another good man. “Possessions doth Heaven (*δαίμων*) give even to the wicked, Cynus, but the boon (*μοῖρα*) of virtue cometh to but few.”⁴ For all that, Theognis does not envy the prosperity of the useless and the wicked; it is valor and virtue that endure.⁵ Nevertheless he gives voice in a famous passage to a protest, upbraiding omnipotent Zeus for bestowing the same *moira* on *hybris* and on *sophrosyne*; the wicked enjoy *olbos*, the just receive *penia*, mother of perplexity (*ἀμηχανίη*), which corrupts their wits by strong necessity (*ἀνάγκη*) into evil-doing (*ἀμπλακίη*).⁶ This is indeed a courageous protest, tracing incidentally the moral decline of man in a new terminology,⁷ and throwing the blame on Zeus in a tone of apparently

¹ Theog. 1075-1078; cf. 381 f.; also 903-930 (if authentic).

² Theog. 197-208; cf. Solon, 1. But cf. also Theog. 731-752 (below, pp. 29 f.).

³ Theognis uses the word *νέμεσις* only once (280), however, and even here of just retribution, not of jealousy. For the gifts of the gods, cf. 25 f.; 801-804; 271-278.

⁴ Theog. 149 f.; *παγκάκω*, 149, is here surely ethical, as the context shows, though elsewhere political. Cf. 336, on the difficulty of attaining virtue by one’s own efforts.

⁵ Theog. 865-868; 683-686; cf. 315-318 (= Solon, 4, 9-12).

⁶ Theog. 373-392. Harrison, *Studies in Theog.*, p. 192, regards 373, *Ζεῦ φίλε, θανμάζω σε*, as “perhaps unique in serious poetry; but it is quite in keeping with the flippant earnestness of this poem.”⁷ *πενίη, ἀνάγκη, ἀμηχανίη, κακὰ πάντα.*

respectful though bewildered resentment. A. Croiset well remarks: "Here is the great enigma of moral theology boldly posed; this is a memorable date in the history of Greek thought."¹ Shall we call this the protest of a troubled but orthodox thinker, or the disillusionment of a renegade? Shall we find in the passage that immediately follows,² on the uses of adversity, and in another passage³ bidding mortals not to sit in judgment on immortals, signs of a recovery of orthodoxy? Or shall we find in the parallel protest tokens of a settled attitude of pessimism and cynicism?

Father Zeus [he cries], I would it were the gods' pleasure that *hybris* should delight the wicked if they so choose, but that whosoever did abominable acts intentionally, with no regard for the gods, should pay the penalty himself, and the deeds of *atasthalie* of the father should not become a misfortune to his children after him. . . . But as it is, the doer escapeth, and another beareth the misfortune afterwards. Yet how can it be just, O king of the immortals, that a man who hath no part in unjust deeds, committing no transgression nor perjury, but being just, should not fare justly?

¹ A. Croiset, *Hist. de la Litt. grecque*³, II (Paris, 1914), p. 156. Cf. *Jeremiah*, 12, 1: "Righteous art thou, O Lord, when I plead with thee: yet let me talk with thee of thy judgments. Wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper? Wherefore are all they happy that deal very treacherously?" This is the first time in Hebrew literature (early sixth cent.) that the problem of the prosperity of the unrighteous is raised, probably after Jeremiah has narrowly escaped from a plot against his life. The answer of Yahweh is simply that Jeremiah has worse sufferings still to face. Inconsistent are the two strains in *Job*, the prose (early, orthodox) and the poetry (later, heterodox), being hardly reconciled; but the outcome is (1) resignation (19, 25; 40, 3-5; 42, 1-6), as in Theognis, and (2) recourse from the contemplation of God's dealings with man to God's majestic ways in Nature (36, 24-41, 34), a magnificent if unethical retreat from *Dike* to *Physis*. J. M. Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus* (Loeb ed.), I, p. 13, n. 2, regards Theognis 373-392 as late, remarking that both it and 731-752 (see below, p. 30) "take Zeus to task (contrast 687) in the manner of late-fifth-century Athens." But we have already met the germ of the protest in Homer (see above, p. 10). The metrical arguments which Edmonds chiefly stresses (based on the frequency of the masculine caesura in the 3rd foot of the hexameter) seems to me inconclusive for the two passages in question (1 such caesura in 1.66 and in 1.83 lines, respectively; even in Tyrtaeus, however, I find such variations as 1 in 5.3 lines (T. 6; 7), 1 in 1.7 (T. 8), and 1 in 1.2 (T. 9)).

² Theog. 393-398.

³ Theog. 687-688.

And the poet goes on to ask how, in view of this situation, men could stand in awe of gods who permit such moral confusion.¹ Like all his contemporaries, he believes that the gods punish the innocent children of the wicked;² but apparently he is the first who believes this to be bad, a blot on a dispensation that pretends to be just. As a matter of fact, we know that the innocent often suffer through the fault of the guilty or the careless; that is perhaps a matter of *physis*, rather than of *dike* or of special interference by the gods. For the primitive Greek, who thought of guilt as something tangible, all but physical, it was logical enough for guilt to be inherited, like diseases or debts.³ For Herodotus, the punishment of the guilty is merely just (*δίκαιον*), and that of their sons something divine (*θείοτατον . . . θεῖον πρῆγμα*), that is, a sign of the active *nemesis* of the gods.⁴ It is the more remarkable that Theognis, beginning to realize that morality must be defined in terms of the will, should have made his protest in terms even faintly suggestive of a Hebrew prophet.⁵

For the rest, it is not surprising that Theognis, looking at the externals of life, should have voiced at times a thoroughgoing pessimism. With Mimnermus⁶ and Alcaeus⁷ and Horace⁸ and Omar, he shares the darker side of the Epicurean creed. "I play rejoicing in youth; for long is the time that I shall lie underground without life, like a speechless stone, and leave the lovely light of the sun; and good though I be, I shall see nothing more."⁹ Or again, "one man hath this ill, another that, and not one of all that the sun beholdeth is happy in very truth."¹⁰ A darker vein of brooding runs through one

¹ Theog. 731-752. Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 883-896; Eur. *I. T.* 386-391, and Fr. 294, 6: *εἰ θεοὶ τι δρῶσιν αἰσχρόν, οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί*. See also above, p. 14.

² Cf. Theog. 197-208, cited above, p. 28.

³ Bion of Borysthenes (third cent. B.C.) points out that for the gods to punish the sons of the guilty is more ridiculous than for physicians to dose the descendants of the sick; Mullach, *Frag. Phil. Graec.* II (Paris, 1881), p. 427, no. 42.

⁴ Hdt. 7, 137.

⁵ Cf. *Ezekiel*, 18 (early sixth cent.); the thought is strikingly similar.

⁶ Mimn. 2.

⁷ Alcaeus, 73.

⁸ Horace, esp. the spring poems.

⁹ Theog. 567-570; cf. 877 f.

¹⁰ Theog. 167 f.; cf. Solon, 15; Theog. 1013-1016.

of four passages that begin with the Delphic counsel of moderation: "Be not over-eager in any matter; best is due measure in all human affairs; oft is a man eager in pursuit of gain, only to be misled into great loss (ἀμπλακίη) by an eager spirit (δαίμων πρόφρων) which easily maketh what is evil seem to him good, and what is good seem evil."¹ Here is once more the stuff of tragedy. But seldom does Greek tragedy plumb the very abyss of pessimism that meets us, and for the first time, in Theognis, and that was to become the familiar commonplace μὴ φθναί. "Best of all for mortals were it never to have been born, nor to have seen the rays of the burning sun; but if once born, to pass as soon as may be the gates of Hades, and to lie under a goodly heap of earth."²

This is the "De Profundis" of Theognis, and he rarely sinks to such despairing utterance. Granted that this world is largely evil, and that the gods give little help, he knows, like Homer and Hesiod, like Archilochus and Solon, how to face hardship with wisdom and resolution, and even piety. "Choose rather to dwell with little wealth in piety than to be rich with possessions unjustly gained; justice is the whole sum of virtue, and every man is good, Cynus, if he be just."³ E. Harrison⁴ and J. T. Stickney⁵ find irony in the position of another quatrain,⁶ a commendation of justice, immediately following the protest

¹ Theog. 401-406. Cf. E. G. Wilkins, *The Delphic Maxims in Literature* (Chicago, 1929), pp. 19-48; P. E. More, "Delphi and Greek Literature," in *Shelburne Essays*, Second Series (New York, 1905), pp. 188-218.

² Theog. 425-428. For the later tradition of this τόπος, cf. Bacchyl. 5, 160 and Jebb *ad loc.*; Bacchyl. Frag. 28 (Jebb); Aesch. Frag. 401 (Sidgwick); Soph. *O. C.* 1225-1229; *O. T.* 1186-1196; Soph. Frags. 488 and 556 (Pearson); Eur. Frags. 285 and 449 (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*²); Alexis, Frag. 141 (Kock), 15 f.; Menander, Frag. 125 (Kock); *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, 73-74 (at least as late as Hadrian, though derived from Alcidas the Sophist (fourth cent.); the lines are here put in the mouth of Homer; cf. *Il.* 23, 71; *Mimn.* 2, 10); Plut. *Consol. ad Apollon.* 109 D; 115 C (= Arist. Frag. 44, Rose); J. W. Mackail, *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology* (London, 1890), pp. 82 f.; Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 114 f. The form of the passage in Theognis may well suggest sympotic origin or use, in its ranking of goods; cf. Theog. 255 f.; Attic Scolia, 7; Solon, 13.

³ Theog. 145-148.

⁴ Harrison, *Studies in Theog.* p. 201.

⁵ Stickney, *Sentences*, p. 107.

⁶ Theog. 753-756.

against the suffering of the righteous and the escape of the wicked; but Theognis nowhere draws from the prosperity of the wicked the conclusion that injustice is to be preferred. Rather is he orthodox in setting forth the pedigree of *hybris* and its fruits. "To an evil man whose place he is about to remove, Cynus, God first giveth *hybris*."¹ Note that it is not a malicious god who acts, and that it is an evil man who is afflicted with *hybris*.² This point explains well enough the turn that Theognis gives to Solon's couplet on the pedigree of *hybris*³ by substituting *κακῶ* for *πολύς*; the thought is substantially the same in both poets, but in borrowing from Solon the later poet gives every possible emphasis to the character of the mortal, "to lay stress on the fact that it is not the quantity of the good fortune [*πολὺς ὄλβος*, Solon] but the quality of the recipient's mind [*κακῶ* . . . *ἀνθρώπῳ*, Theognis] which determines his fate."⁴ Finally, in adapting to his purpose the last six lines of Solon's "Prayer to the Muses," the lines dealing with the insatiate greed bred of wealth, and its dire results, Theognis makes, together with insignificant changes, a major substitution:⁵ whereas Solon writes, "the immortals give mortals possessions, yet ruin (*ἄρνη*) stands revealed coming from them" (i.e. from mortals), Theognis substitutes "the possessions of mortals turn to folly (*ἄφροσύνη*) and ruin (*ἄρνη*) stands revealed coming from it." Hudson-Williams,⁶ writing on the substitution in this passage (which he does not

¹ Theog. 151 f.

² J. Adam seems to overstate the case, *The Religious Teachers of Greece* (Edinburgh, 1909), p. 88, when he writes: "*Hybris*, Theognis says, is the first and greatest evil; and God is its author," and cites 151, comparing 133 ff. Theognis is trying to vindicate the ways of God and assert a measure of human responsibility. But of course he does not achieve complete consistency, as Adam also remarks on the same page.

³ Theog. 153 f.; Solon, 5, 9 f.; see above, p. 25.

⁴ Harrison, *Studies in Theog.* p. 113. Hudson-Williams, *Elegies of Theog.* pp. 48 f., is scornful of such a theory of appropriation by Theognis; yet he writes (255) that "a change in the sense was introduced in order to emphasize the effects of *κόρος* upon the *bad* man," and cites Clement of Alexandria (*Str.* 6, p. 740), who "knew that the popular version was ascribed to Theognis, and he may have read it himself in a MS. of the Megarian poet." That is indeed the very least to be made of Clement's explicit statement: *Σόλωνος δὲ ποιήσαντος 'τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν πολὺς ὄλβος ἔπηται,' ἀντικρὺς ὁ Θεόγνις γράφει 'τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν κακῶ ὄλβος ἔπηται.'*

⁵ Theog. 227-232; Solon, 1, 71-76; see above, pp. 23 f.

⁶ Hudson-Williams, *Elegies of Theog.* p. 191.

attribute to Theognis himself), remarks that Solon's line "was replaced by 230 to avoid holding the gods responsible." According to the interpretation of Solon's lines accepted above,¹ Solon also avoids holding the gods responsible; but the substituted lines are still more explicit in holding man and his folly accountable.²

What is the practical result of the philosophy of Theognis? First, a faith in prudential maxims of conduct, especially with regard to moderation, as in drinking, a mean between two extremes.³ "Be not too eager in any matter; the mean is the best in all things; and thus, Cynus, thou shalt have virtue, which is a thing hard to get."⁴ He believes, moreover, in the power of the human mind. "Judgment (γνώμη), Cynus, is the best thing the gods give mortals; judgment holdeth the end of all things. O happy he that hath it in his mind! He is far stronger than baleful *hybris* and dolorous *koros*, and these are of those evils than which there is none worse for mortals; for every evil, Cynus, cometh from them."⁵ It follows that man is largely responsible for his condition. "All things here are among the crows and perdition, nor is any of the blessed immortal gods, Cynus, to blame; rather the violence of men and their base gains and their *hybris* have cast us from much good into evil."⁶ This is doubtless spoken with pious intent, to divert blame for evil from gods to men;⁷ but it is palpably at variance with the idea that man proposes and God disposes.⁸ Elsewhere, also in the interest of piety, Theognis adapts the passage of Solon's "Prayer to the Muses" on the uncertainty of the

¹ See above, p. 24.

² ἀφροσύνη I suppose to have been suggested by Solon, 1, 70, on the "folly" from which God may deliver man. "χρήματα, ἀφροσύνη, ἄτη form a sort of genealogy like κόρος, ὕβρις, ἄτη," remarks Hudson-Williams (p. 191), comparing 153 f.; I have already called attention (above, p. 28) to the still different genealogy in 373-392, in which Zeus is held accountable. In Theognis, 232, τειρομένοις, "wretched," looks like a mere scribal corruption of τισομένην (Solon, 1, 76), which is certainly better in both contexts. Cf. Harrison, *Studies in Theog.* p. 106, n. 2.

³ Theog. 837-840.

⁴ Theog. 335 f.; cf. 401-406; 593 f.; 463 f.; Hes. *Op.* 289-292.

⁵ Theog. 1171-1176.

⁶ Theog. 833-836.

⁷ Cf. 687 f.; it is not *themis* to sit in judgment on the gods; and 897-900: man fares better at the hands of the gods than he deserves.

⁸ Cf. 133-142; see above, p. 27.

results of human activities, good or bad, with a real change of meaning.¹ Whereas Solon says that one who is seeking to "do well" (εὖ ἔρδειν) falls unexpectedly into *ate*, and one who is "doing ill" (κακῶς ἔρδοντι) is delivered by God into good fortune, Theognis makes the contrast between one who is merely seeking a fair reputation (εὐδοκιμεῖν) and fails, and one who is really acting well (καλῶς ποιεῖντι) and is prospered by God, even his blunders coming to a good end.² This violent perversion of Solon's thought is certainly made "to 'justify the ways of God to man.'" ³

Between the divine dispensation and the activity of man, then, Theognis holds that much good may emerge. "Never swear that a thing cannot be, for the gods resent it, and the end is theirs. Yet do *something*; good may come of bad, and bad of good," etc.⁴ Here is at least a sporting chance in an uncertain world. And at the very worst, Theognis, like Archilochus, counsels endurance and manliness. "We ought to endure (τολμᾶν) what the gods give mortal men and bear patiently either lot."⁵ "Neither make thy heart too sick with evils nor too quickly glad of good, ere thou see the final end."⁶ "Bear up (τόλμα), Cynus, in ill fortune, because once thou didst rejoice in good, when *Moirā* enjoined that thou shouldst share in that," [and pray, rather than display thy misery].⁷ And Theognis takes his own medicine: "It is not possible, Cynus, to avoid what it is our lot (*moira*) to suffer; and what it is my lot to suffer, I fear not to suffer."⁸ Homeric in some of its diction, and indebted to Archilochus for the form of self-address,⁹ but full of a noble resignation and a noble resolution that come from Theognis himself, is an address to his own soul.

Endure (τόλμα), my soul, in misfortune, though thou hast suffered the intolerable; 'tis sure the heart of the baser sort is quicker to wrath. Be not thou in great distress or anger over deeds that cannot be done, nor grieve

¹ Theog. 585-590; Solon, 1, 65-70; see above, pp. 23 f.

² Harrison, *Studies in Theog.* p. 106.

³ Hudson-Williams, *Elegies of Theog.* p. 46 (not accepting the lines as belonging to Theognis). Cf. also Theog. 865-868; 315-318 (Solon, 4, 9-12).

⁴ Theog. 659-666; cf. Archil. 74; and see above, p. 21.

⁵ Theog. 591 f.; cf. 555 f.

⁶ Theog. 593 f. (cf. 393-398; 657 f.).

⁸ Theog. 817 f.

⁷ Theog. 355-360.

⁹ Cf. Archil. 67a; see above, p. 22.

thy friends and gladden thy foes. Not easily shall mortal man escape the destined gifts of the gods, neither if he sink to the bottom of the purple sea, nor when he be held in murky Tartaros.¹

Perhaps the conclusion of the whole matter, for Theognis, is expressed in his emphasis on human character as something that can rise superior to circumstances. "Nobody is all-happy in all things; but the good man, if he have evil, yet endureth, though men know it not, whereas the bad man knoweth not how to abide and restrain his heart either in weal or in evil. Of all sorts are the gifts that come of the immortals to mortals; yet endure we must to keep the gifts they send, of whatsoever sort they be."² Surely this attitude, which the tragic poets were soon to rediscover among the uses of adversity, is a positive and a precious moral gain; all may be lost, save honor and *τλημοσύνη*. And it is a step toward the philosophy of happiness of Plato and Aristotle.

The centuries that preceded the rise of Greek tragedy and of Greek philosophy were thus incessantly preoccupied with the problem of Fate, Good, and Evil. However much the problem was to grow later out of the form of tragedy itself and the great myths of tragedy, however stubbornly the philosophers were to attempt an intellectual solution, however much the Orphic religion was to transform Greek ideas of the soul and moral values, the Greeks had already built a solid structure of thought about the problem. Though not wholly consistent, it is a single tradition from Homer to Theognis and beyond, drawing from heroic action, peasant and civic life, and personal vicissitudes its touch of reality, and pouring its thought into gnomic form, often in antithetical half-truths. Its trend is from *Physis* to *Nomos*; it comes to distrust Nature and the gifts of the gods, and to find whatever of good the world affords more in social justice and the wise and brave acceptance and use of what Fate brings.

Each of the major poets, as we have seen, makes his contribution to the development of this tradition. For Homer, seeking to reconcile natural phenomena with anthropomorphic divinities, *Moirai* and the

¹ Theog. 1029-1036. Cf. Hdt. 5, 56, the riddling oracle spoken to Hipparchus in a dream, just before his death in 514 B.C.: *τληθι λέων ἄτλητα παθὼν τετληότι θύμῳ*.
² Theog. 441-446.

daimones are equivocal ethical forces, bringing now good, now evil, and *nemesis* is barely ethical. Despite his distinction between *Ate* and *atasthalie*, Homer permits Menelaus to reproach Zeus for conniving with the wicked Trojans. Yet Zeus himself disclaims responsibility for what men suffer *ὑπὲρ μόνον*, and Achilles and Odysseus lay the foundations of a philosophy of endurance. In the myths of Hesiod, the source of evil is involved in a theory of cosmic degeneration, and human good is founded on the acceptance of the inevitable and on prudence and industry. The gnostic poets seek, though with misgivings, to maintain their orthodoxy. Archilochus, bewildered by the vicissitudes of life, introduces the idea of *τύχη*; but he develops the philosophy of *τλημοσύνη*, initiating moreover the literary device of self-address in the expression of it. Solon's emphasis is on the moral responsibility of man; and he is the first to trace systematically the sequence of moral decline. He is troubled by the spectacle of the suffering of good men, along with the wicked, for both good and evil come from *Moirai*, and the gifts of the gods may not be refused; he is not troubled by the punishment of the innocent children of the wicked. Theognis, however, protests against such a miscarriage of justice, as he protests against the prosperity of the wicked; and he launches the pessimistic commonplace *μὴ φθῆναι*. Nevertheless he qualifies his pessimism with counsels of piety and moderation and prudence. And if he is inconsistent, like his predecessors, in attributing evil now to the gift of the gods, now to the *hybris* of men, like them he also proclaims the need of activity and endurance.

FINAL NU IN HERODOTUS AND IONIC INSCRIPTIONS

By JOHN FRANCIS CHATTERTON RICHARDS

THE evidence afforded by Eastern Ionic inscriptions, especially those of Miletus, shows that our modern texts of Herodotus, based on the manuscript tradition, do not always correspond with the actual practice of his day. One obvious example is psilosis; for though this is found in inscriptions, it is not recognized in our texts, which allow such inconsistencies as the retention of the spelling ἀπ' ἧς combined with the use of a rough breathing.¹ In the inscriptions such spellings as ἐπ' αἶμ[ατ|ι] (M6, 187, 2) and κατό|περ (M3, 133, 11)² are rightly regarded as evidence for psilosis. Another instance is the rare appearance of νῦ ἐφελκυστικόν. In the Oxford text of Hude, which is chosen merely as one representative of the traditional text, an open -ι or -ε before a following vowel is the general rule. It is not necessary for the purposes of this paper to give particulars from all nine books of Herodotus, and therefore Book I has been chosen as an example. Here the editor gives less than forty variant readings which show final -ν. Some of these are listed by Bredow,³ who also adds some alternative readings not mentioned by Hude. On the other hand there are over six hundred examples where Hude does not insert νῦ at all before a following vowel; cf. 1, 1: προεῖχε ἅπασι; λέγουσι, Ἴοῦν; ἄλλησι ἀρπασθῆναι. It is, in fact, very seldom that the νῦ occurs at all, but it is sometimes found in verse quotations. Thus in 1, 66 we see ἀποκωλύσου-σιν, ἐγὼ, where the metre requires the νῦ. The variant readings with -ν are found, as would be expected, in the third person singular and plural of verbs, in the dative plural, including σφι, and in such words as τοιοῦτο, ὅπισθε, ἔνερθε, πρόσθε, κατύπερθε. The Oxford

¹ Hdt. 1, 1.

² T. Wiegand, *Milet: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899* (Berlin, 1906-1929). M3; M6 = *Milet*, Band I, Heft 3; Heft 6.

³ F. I. C. Bredovius, *De Dialecto Herodotea*, Lipsiae, MDCCCXLVI.

text does, however, show $\nu\hat{u}$ in such words as $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$ and also $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$; and sometimes it occurs in the neuter $\tau\omicron\sigma\sigma\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$. The variant readings, which show the $\nu\hat{u}$, occur mainly in the Roman group of manuscripts, R, S, V, of the fourteenth century, each of which shows over twenty examples, though they are more frequent in V (Vindobonensis LXXXV) than in R (Vaticanus 123) and S (Sancroftianus). The few instances in B, the earlier Roman manuscript of the eleventh century (Romanus Angel. August.), are listed as being from a later hand (b). There are very few examples from C, E, and P,¹ and none are quoted from A,² the tenth-century manuscript of the Florentine group. Thus in 1, 17 we find $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ with the variant reading $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\nu$ (R, S, V, b) and in 1, 202 $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\grave{\eta}\sigma\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\nu\varsigma$ with the alternative $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\lambda\iota\nu$ (R, S, V).

Of the five examples listed under L (consensus codicum) the use of $\nu\hat{u}$ is variable in three, but two words, $\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$ (1, 71) and $\omicron\pi\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$ (1, 199), show final $-\nu$, which is omitted in the Oxford text.

Hude regularly shows the uncontracted form of verbs ending in $-\epsilon\epsilon$ before a following vowel, but this is a more difficult point, for even in Attic contracted verbs like $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ do not show final $\nu\hat{u}$ in the imperfect. However, the manuscripts R, S, V do give the reading $\delta\iota\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\nu$ in 1, 196, where the text shows $\delta\iota\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$. And in Milesian inscriptions the contracted form showing final $-\nu$ at the end of a sentence occurs in $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\nu$ ³ (*SGDI* 5506, 1; sixth century B.C.).

In contrast to what we find in the manuscripts the use of $\nu\hat{u}$ is the rule in the well-known inscription of the Molpoi at Miletus (M3, 133; 450 B.C.). Here not only does the $-\nu$ regularly occur before vowels, but it is also found before consonants, both before a mark of punctuation and even in the middle of a sentence. It occurs eleven times in the normal way before vowels, e.g., $\pi\omicron\iota\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ 'Ονιτάδαι (40), $\mu\omicron\lambda\pi\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ (40). And though before consonants the $\nu\hat{u}$ is omitted five times within a sentence, as would be expected, e.g., 'Ονιτά|δησι πάρεξις (31), and also once before a colon (6), in eight places it is inserted when a consonant follows. Of these eight instances four occur before a main mark of punctua-

¹ Laurentianus Convent. Suppr. 207; Excerpta Parisina; Parisinus 1633.

² Laurentianus LXX, 3.

³ Or better $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\iota\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ (Solmsen-Fraenkel, 57, 2).

tion and thus are not unusual, e.g., *παιωνίσωσιν*. Τῇ (8), but the other four are found in the middle of sentences, where the *νῦ* is not really necessary, e.g., *ἴσχωσιν στεφανηφόροι* (9), *στεφανηφό|ροισιν τέλῃα* (14). These last examples go beyond the usual Attic practice, and show clearly that the Ionians were not averse to the use of *νῦ*. In the same inscription the word *πρόσθεν* is used twice, even before consonants, whereas Hude prefers to spell it without *νῦ*, and there are two instances of the Ionic *εἶτεν*. Though open vowels are avoided, in four instances final *-ι* may be elided before a following vowel, and the text of Solmsen-Fraenkel assumes that it is, e.g., *τοῖς' ἱεροῖσιν* (22) and *τοῖς' ἱερήιοισιν* (33), *παρὰ νύμφαις', εἶτεν* (29) and *τοῖς' ἔωντό* (44). As an alternative explanation we could assume that the old I. E. instrumental form *τοῖς* was used in Ionic in addition to the old locative *τοῖσι*. A fifth-century inscription from Halicarnassus (*SGDI* 5726) suggests this possibility, for it shows *τοῖς* before a consonant in *τοῖς μνήμοσιν* (10). Bechtel, however, in Vol. III of *Die griechischen Dialekte*, quoting Dittenberger, shows an elision of *-ι* in three instances (D³, 57, 22; 33; 44), but does not refer to *νύμφαις'* (29). In *Milet* the editor shows elision in two instances before the letter *ε* (29; 44), but not in the other two before the letter *ι* (22; 33). The text of Collitz-Bechtel is less consistent, and shows elision twice, once before *ι* and once before *ε* (*SGDI* 5495, 33; 44), but the word *νύμφαις* (29) is written without elision. The ending *-αις* suggests Attic influence, for elsewhere the Ionic ending *-ηισι* is found, as in *Ὀνιτάδηισι* (31).¹

The inscription from Halicarnassus mentioned above shows *νῦ* before both consonants and vowels (*SGDI* 5726, 10; 18; 21), and instances of *νῦ ἐφελκυστικόν* before a consonant continue to appear during the period of the *κοινή*; they occur in Milesian inscriptions of the third, second, and first centuries B.C., e.g.,

ἀνήγγελλεν, διότι (M₃, 143, 50; 212/211 B.C.),

ἂν ὦσιν Μιλησίων (M₃, 148, 71; 196 B.C.),

ὁμόσασιν καὶ (M₃, 149, 13; 182 B.C.?),

παῖσιν τοῖς (M₉, 368, 21; first century B.C.).

And in much earlier times it is worth noting that in the Sigeon in-

¹ Cf. F. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, III, pp. 136, 137.

scription of Proconnesus, dated about 600 B.C., though the Attic portion omits final ν in the dative $\Sigma\iota\gamma\epsilon\langle\nu\rangle|\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota$, the Ionic part preserves it (*SGDI* 5531, b, 6; a, 10).¹

The inscriptions also differ from our modern texts in the spelling of ordinary final ν before certain consonants. Thus ν is written at Miletus as μ before μ , π , β , ϕ , ψ ; the 'sandhi' occurs not only in proclitic words, but also in words not closely connected with the one which follows. Instances occur in the sixth and fifth centuries, and continue as late as the second century, where examples of the spelling ν alongside that of μ begin to occur in the same inscription, e.g., $\epsilon\mu$ *Μιλήτῳ* and $\epsilon\nu$ *Μιλήτῳ* (M3, 150, 43; 62; 180 B.C.?). Thus in the early inscriptions we find:

$\tau\omicron\mu$ *βδν* (M3, 132b, 6; before 500 B.C.),

$\tau\omicron\mu$ *μολπῶν*, $\tau\omicron\mu$ *παλαιὸν* (M3, 133, 16; 21; 450 B.C.),

καίερήμ μοι[ρ][$[-a]\nu$] (*SGDI* IV, 36, 6; fifth century B.C.).

Other later examples from the fourth, third, and second centuries B.C. are:

$\epsilon\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\zeta\omicron\mu$, *μαρτυρίας* (M2, 9b, 27; 391–387 B.C.),

$\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\mu$ *βω|μῶν* (M3, 136, 3; before 323 B.C.),

χρείαμ παρεχομένους (M2, 10, 16; 287–281 B.C.),

πρὸς αὐτὸμ φιλῖαι (M3, 139, 35; 262–260 B.C.?),

$\tau\omega\mu$ *ψηφισμάτων* (M3, 146, 47; 209/208 B.C.),

$\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\eta\mu$ *πόλιν* (M3, 148, 66; 196 B.C.).

Similarly ν is written as γ before κ , χ , γ from the fifth to the second century B.C., and the spelling in the same way is not confined to proclitic words. A fifth-century example is: — *τούτωγ κατ*[α][*κτείν*] $\epsilon\iota$ (M6, 187, 3; 450 B.C.). Similarly in the fourth and third centuries we find:

προεδρίαγ καὶ (M3, 136, 11; before 323 B.C.),

$\tau\omega\gamma$ *χρόνων* (M3, 142, 6; before 323 B.C.?),

δευτέραγ καταβολήν (M3, 138, 7; 282 B.C.),

ἄφεισιγ γενέσθαι (M3, 141, 24; 228 B.C.?).

And we can see the same spelling as late as the second century, e.g., $\epsilon\gamma$ *Κυρσσήλει* (M3, 150, 80; 180 B.C.?).

The letter ν is also written as σ before a following σ in a fourth-

¹ The Attic half does however show ν in $\epsilon\pi\omicron|(\iota\eta)\sigma\epsilon\nu$ (9) (= $\epsilon\pi\omicron|i\tilde{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\nu$).

century inscription, which retains Ionic features; here we find the phrase ἐς Σάρδισι (M₃, 135, 21; before 323 B.C.). Compare τῶσ σ|υμπάντων from Halicarnassus (*SGDI* 5726, 41; before 454/3). A parallel spelling with λ comes from Leros:

τῶν ἐλ Λέρω[ι] (*SGDI* 5520, 5; fourth century).

All these spellings throw light on the actual pronunciation of the time, but our modern texts do not make use of them. Is it not time, then, to review the text of Herodotus in the light of epigraphical evidence? Certainly in the use of νῦ ἐφέλκυστικόν the inscriptions fail to support the view that the Ionians were fond of concurrent vowels.

ROMAN DESCRIPTIONS OF PERSONAL APPEARANCE IN HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY ¹

BY ELIZABETH CORNELIA EVANS

I

A REGULAR feature of the *schemata* used by Suetonius in the *De Vita Caesarum*, by the writers of the *Historia Augusta*, and by Ammianus Marcellinus is the description of personal appearance. Leo ² contended more than thirty years ago that Suetonius, following Varro, adopted the form of biography used by the learned Alexandrian writers — with this difference, that he transferred the form from the field of literary biography to the historical-political type. From this contention Professor Stuart ³ recently has been inclined to dissent in his *Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography*. A number of scholars, including Fürst and Misener, ⁴ have studied the problem of the origin

¹ This article in its original form, entitled *Quomodo Corpora Voltusque Hominum Auctores Latini descripserint*, was submitted in 1930 in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Classical Philology in Radcliffe College. I should like to express my deep appreciation of the stimulating guidance and friendly counsel of the late Professor Clifford Herschel Moore, who suggested the subject of this thesis to me. To Professor Carl Newell Jackson I am much indebted for many helpful suggestions, and to Professor Harry Austryn Wolfson for his assistance in the interpretation of the Arabic version of Polemo's work on physiognomy.

² F. Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie* (Leipzig, 1901), pp. 141; 315-323.

³ D. R. Stuart, *Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography* (Berkeley, 1928), pp. 186; 226 ff.

⁴ J. Fürst, "Untersuchungen zur Ephemeris des Diktys von Kreta. VII. Die Personalbeschreibungen im Diktysberichte," *Philologus*, LXI (1902), pp. 374-440; 593-622. Separately published: *Die litterarische Portraitmanier im Bereich des griechisch-römischen Schrifttums* (Leipzig, 1903). G. Misener, "Iconistic Portraits," *Classical Philology*, XIX (1924), pp. 97-123.

Attention is called to the articles by H. V. Canter, "Personal Appearance in the Biography of the Roman Emperors," in *Studies in Philology* (University of North Carolina Press), XXV (1928), pp. 385-399; M. E. Deutsch, "Concerning Caesar's

of the descriptions of physique in the Latin biographers. It is not necessary to review their work here, save to state that Fürst, in a study of the *Ephemeris* of Dictys of Crete, traced the material of the photographic description of personal appearance in the Egyptian papyri and in Greek and Roman literature, and came to the conclusion that the iconistic portrait was for the most part alien to classical Greek literature, but was a native Egyptian official method of identification adopted by the Greek conquerors. Miss Misener believes that, through want of positive evidence to substantiate it, Fürst's theory is untenable, though she recognizes the importance of this type of description in the Egyptian-Greek legal forms, where it was used for the purpose of identification in military enrolment and for a similar purpose in proclamations for the capture of runaway slaves and in such private documents as wills.

It has seemed of some significance to consider once more the descriptions of physique occurring in the Latin writers of Roman history and biography from the earliest period to the end of the fourth century after Christ, in order to see how the Roman historians described physical appearance and especially to observe to what extent they attempted to interpret the character of a man from his personal appearance, i.e., used the description as a device of characterization.

An analysis of the material collected revealed three principal methods of description used over and over again. First, there is the method where the body is described in general terms in such expressions as *forma eximia*, *corpus ingens*, a type which is a commonplace in literature and in general consists of descriptions, laudatory or otherwise, of the permanent appearance of a man. Secondly, there is the type where the emotion of the individual registered on the body or countenance is indicated by such phrases as *laeto voltu*, *truci voltu*. The second type is to be found especially (1) in panegyrics in which the dignity of the appearance, the tranquillity of the countenance, and the nobility of the eyes are lauded, or in vituperative attacks on enemies, and (2) in expressions in which the momentary appearance of a man

Appearance," *Classical Journal*, XII (1917), pp. 247-253; E. K. Rand, "On the History of the De Vita Caesarum of Suetonius in the Early Middle Ages," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXVII (1926), pp. 1-48, especially pp. 40-48.

is depicted, that is to say, in phrases which suggest the reaction of a person to some event or speech as it is reflected for a brief space upon the countenance. This device of characterization reaches its highest development in Tacitus. Thirdly, there is the type where the whole body is photographically described, as in the *Lives* of Suetonius. In connection with this third type, since the doctrines of the physiognomists were familiar certainly to the writers of the Roman Empire, we may go a step further and consider the treatises attributed to Aristotle and the work of Polemo and unknown writers in which the art of physiognomy—the art of interpreting character from personal appearance—is discussed, so that we may determine whether the ideas set forth in these books had any influence on writers of Roman history and biography.

The rhetorical terms applied to the descriptions of physique are classified by the Greek rhetoricians.¹ Ἐκφρασις² is a description, clear and concise, of πράγματα or πρόσωπα. Εἰκονισμός³ is closely connected with Ἐκφρασις—with this distinction, that under the term εἰκονισμός only people properly may be described. Χαρακτηρισμός⁴ is sometimes equated with εἰκονισμός, and sometimes separated as a description simply of character or behavior. The Auctor ad Herennium translates the terms Ἐκφρασις and εἰκονισμός by *effictio*⁵ and χαρακτηρισμός by *notatio*,⁶ while Seneca states that εἰκονισμός is a term which not only is applied to an ornament of style but is used also by the *publicani*,⁷ and seems to consider it interchangeable with χαρακτηρισμός.⁸

¹ See the excellent discussion of these rhetorical terms in Misener, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-99.

² Ἐκφρασις: L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, I-III (Leipzig, 1856-1885), esp. II, p. 16 (Hermogenes); II, p. 46 (Aphthonius); II, p. 118 (Theon); III, p. 251 (Georgius Choeroboscus).

³ Εἰκονισμός: Spengel, *op. cit.*, III, p. 108 (Polybius Sardinianus).

⁴ Χαρακτηρισμός: Spengel, *op. cit.*, III, p. 108 (Polybius Sardinianus); III, p. 201 (Trypho); III, p. 241 (Cocondrius). Cf. G. Reichel, *Quaestiones Progymnasmaticae* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 72.

⁵ 4, 49, 63.

⁶ 4, 50, 63.

⁷ *Epist. mor.* 95, 65 ff., where he quotes a passage from Virgil, *Georg.* 3, 75-85, describing both behavior and appearance. Miss Misener's discussion of εἰκονισμός used by the *publicani* in Egyptian legal papyri has been mentioned above. Cf. especially *op. cit.*, pp. 98-103.

⁸ For χαρακτηρισμός in the Latin rhetoricians see C. Halm, *Rhetores Latini*

In the ἐγκώμιον, those who compose panegyrics must treat τὰ ἀγαθὰ in three parts: τὰ μὲν περὶ ψυχὴν τε καὶ ἦθος, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὰ δὲ ἔξωθεν. τὰ περὶ τὸ σῶμα, according to Theon,¹ are ὑγεία, ἰσχύς, κάλλος, εὐαίσθησία. The Auctor ad Herennium² adds: *corporis sunt ea quae natura corpori attribuit commoda aut incommoda: velocitas, vires, dignitas, valetudo, et quae contraria sunt.*

The *ars rhetorica* of Cicero's day required careful training in *pronuntiatio* or *actio* (ὑπόκρισις) for the orator.³ Its nature was twofold: (1) *figura vocis*, (2) *motus corporis*. It formed one of the five main divisions of rhetorical training of which the Auctor⁴ remarks a careful consideration must be made:

Pronuntiatiōem multi maxime utilem oratori dixerunt esse (et) ad persuadendum plurimum valere. . . . quare, quia nemo de ea re diligenter scripsit — nam omnes vix posse putarunt de voce et vultu et gestu dilucide scribi, cum eae res ad sensus nostros pertinerent — et quia magnopere a nobis ad dicendum comparanda est, non neglegenter videtur tota res consideranda.

He outlines the gestures⁵ suitable for each occasion and concludes with the statement that *hoc tamen scire oportet, pronuntiatiōem bonam id perficere ut res ex animo agi videatur.* Cicero himself in the *De Oratore*⁶ emphasizes the fact that all powers of action proceed from the mind, and that the countenance is the image of the mind:

Omnis enim motus animi suum quendam a natura habet vultum et sonum et gestum; corpusque totum hominis et eius omnis vultus omnesque

minores (Leipzig, 1863): *Schemata Lexeos*, 2, 7, p. 16 (Rutilius Lupus); *Schemata Dianoeas*, 10, p. 72; *Carmen de Figuris*, 148–150, p. 69; *De Rhetorica*, 21, 40, p. 521 (Isidore).

¹ Spengel, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 109 ff. Cf. T. C. Burgess, "Epideictic Literature," *University of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology*, III (1902), pp. 120–121, where he diagrams the *schema* of Aphthonius.

² 3, 6, 10.

³ Aristotle declares that even in his day instructions with regard to ὑπόκρισις had long been neglected (*Rhet.* 3, 1, 1403b); that Thrasymachus held that a good delivery depended on nature, not on art (*id.*, 1404a; Quintil. *Inst.* 3, 3, 4). Theophrastus is said to have first treated the subject carefully.

⁴ 3, 19.

⁵ 3, 26–27.

⁶ 3, 216; 221 ff. Cf. *Orator*, 55; 59; 60; *Brutus*, 110; *In Pis.* 1.

voces ut nervi in fidibus, ita sonant ut motu animi quoque sunt pulsae. . . . sed in ore sunt omnia, in eo autem ipso dominatus est omnis oculorum. . . . animi est enim omnis actio et imago animi vultus, indices oculi; nam haec est una pars corporis, quae, quot animi motus sunt, tot significationes et commutationes possit efficere.

Quintilian¹ develops the idea even more fully in dealing with *gestus*:

Is quantum habeat in oratore momenti, satis vel ex eo patet, quod pleraque etiam citra verba significat . . . ex vultu ingressuque perspicitur habitus animorum, et animalium quoque sermone carentium ira, laetitia, adulatio et oculis et quibusdam aliis corporis signisprehenditur.

Like the Auctor ad Herennium he lists the gestures and expressions proper to each occasion, but goes a step further in interpreting their significance. For example, *caput rectum* is, he says, *secundum naturam*; *caput deiectum* indicates *humilitas*; *caput supinum*, *adrogantia*; *in latus inclinatum*, *languor*; *praedurum et rigens*, *barbaria mentis*.²

It is recorded that Pythagoras³ was the inventor of the study of physiognomy, but Galen⁴ tells us that Hippocrates really established it as a science. In this connection one must keep in mind the fact that as a quasi-science it was closely associated with the science of medicine. As early as the Periclean Age a certain Zopyrus was pretending to be proficient in the field of physiognomy.⁵ But it

¹ *Inst.* 11, 3, 65 ff.

² It is interesting to find that the same ideas were uppermost in the minds of later Latin writers of panegyrics in such statements as these: *non frustra enim doctissimi viri dicunt naturam ipsam magnis mentibus domicilia corporum digna metari et ex vultu hominis ac decore membrorum conligi posse, quantus illos caelestis spiritus intravit habitator* (*Paneg. Lat.* ed. Baehrens (Leipzig, 1911), 6, 17, 3). Also: *male clausi signa maeroris per vultus indices exierunt* (*id.*, 4, 13, 1). *fingit quidem, ut scimus, timor gaudium, sed ita intimos mentis adfectus proditor vultus enuntiat ut in speculo frontium imago exstet animorum* (*id.*, 2, 37, 2).

³ Hippolytus, *Refutatio Haeresium*, 1, 2; Porphyry, *Vita Pythag.* 13; Iamblichus, *Vita Pythag.* 17; cf. Gell. 1, 9, 2 (Pythagoras on examining a pupil): *iam a principio adulescentes qui sese ad discendum obtulerant ἐφυσιογνωμόναι*; *id* verbum significat mores naturasque hominum coniectatione quadam de oris et vultus ingenio deque totius corporis filo atque habitu sciscitari.

⁴ Περὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡθῶν (ed. Kühn, Leipzig, 1822), IV, pp. 797-798. He laid the foundations of the study of this subject in his work on airs, waters, and places.

⁵ Cic. *De Fato*, 10; Scholia in Pers. 4, 23-24. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 4, 80; Xen. *Mem.* 3, 10, 5.

is not until the time of Aristotle that we hear a great deal of the technical aspects of the subject. Aristotle has much to say on the theories of physiognomy, especially in the *Analytica priora*, *De Anima*, *Historia Animalium*, and *De Partibus Animalium*; as, for example, in the passage which follows, wherein he sets forth the theory which he elsewhere develops:¹ τὸ δὲ φυσιογνωμονεῖν δυνατόν ἐστιν, εἴ τις δίδωσιν ἅμα μεταβάλλειν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅσα φυσικὰ ἐστὶ παθήματα· μαθὼν γὰρ ἴσως μουσικὴν μεταβέβληκέ τι τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν φύσει ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος, ἀλλ' οἷον ὄργαι καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι τῶν φύσει κινήσεων. εἰ δὴ τοῦτό τε δοθείη καὶ ἐν ἐνὸς σημείον εἶναι καὶ δυναίμεθα λαμβάνειν τὸ ἴδιον ἐκάστου γένους πάθος καὶ σημεῖον, δυνησόμεθα φυσιογνωμονεῖν. The book ascribed to Aristotle, *Φυσιογνωμονικά*, in which the doctrines of physiognomy were treated systematically, has come down to us as a work of some six major sections which may be divided into two constituent parts, probably separately composed by writers in the Peripatetic school or at any rate strongly under Peripatetic influence.² The two parts were apparently united at a later date to form a single book simply by reason of the similarity of their subject-matter.³ The methods by which the study of physiognomy must be treated are taken up: the parts of the body which reveal character, the physical appearance proper to each state of mind (such as bravery or cowardice, wrath or prudence, or their opposites), the physical appearance of the male and the female, the minute comparisons that may be made between the physique and behavior of the male and the female, and the physique and behavior of many kinds of animals, especially the lion and the panther, and the aspects of the character which can be observed from the form of the face, the whole body, the separate parts of the body, the stature, the walk, the voice, the color. The author of the first part states his premise at the outset:⁴ οὐδὲν γὰρ

¹ *Analyt. pr.* 2, 27, 70b. Cf. *De An.* 2, 9, 421a; *Hist. Animal.* 1, 1, 488b; 1, 9, 491b; 1, 15, 494b; 4, 11, 538b; 8, 1, 588a; 9, 1, 608a; *De Part. Animal.* 2, 2, 648a; 2, 4, 650b; 3, 4, 667a; *De Gen. Animal.* 4, 3, 769b; 4, 5, 774a; 5, 7, 786b.

² For the authorship of this work see R. Förster, *Scriptores Physiognomonicæ*, I (Leipzig, 1893), Proleg. pp. xviii ff. V. Rose, *Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus* (Leipzig, 1863), p. 697.

³ R. Förster, "De Aristotelis quae feruntur Physiognomonicorum Indole ac Condicione," in *Philologische Abhandlungen . . . Martin Hertz* (Berlin, 1888), pp. 284 ff.

⁴ Pseud.-Arist. 805a.

πώποτε ζῶον γεγένηται τοιοῦτον ὃ τὸ μὲν εἶδος ἔσχευ ἑτέρου ζώου, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν ἄλλου, ἀλλ' αἰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τό τε σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὥστε ἀναγκαῖον ἔπεσθαι τῷ τοιῷδε σῶματι τοιάνδε διάνοιαν. This he considers the province of physiognomy:¹ ἡ μὲν οὖν φυσιογνωμονία ἐστὶ, καθάπερ καὶ τοῦνομα αὐτῆς λέγει, περὶ τὰ φυσικὰ παθήματα τῶν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ, καὶ τῶν ἐπικτήτων ὅσα παραγινόμενα μεθίστησι τῶν σημείων τῶν φυσιογνωμονουμένων. Förster believes that the work has not come down to us entire,² for Polemo of Laodicea was undoubtedly familiar with a fuller version of the two tracts united in a single treatise, and he makes use of both parts of the work freely.³

Loxus, a physician, is also mentioned among ancient authors as the writer of a work on physiognomy,⁴ no longer extant. Interest in the theories of physiognomy was by no means confined to members of the Aristotelian school, since Zeno, and with him the Stoics, display some familiarity with and practice of the quasi-science.⁵

From the work on physiognomy by Polemo, the sophist, a single sentence in Greek remains:⁶ ὥσπερ ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ ὀφρύων καὶ ῥινὸς σχήματι χαρακτῆρές τινες ἐγκάθηνται τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ιδιώματος· ὀφθαλμοὶ γάρ φησιν ὁ Πολέμων ὑγροὶ λάμποντες ὡς λιβάδες, ἦθη χρηστὰ ἐκφαίνουσιν. This man was probably born in the year 88 A.D. at Laodicea in Asia Minor and died about 145 A.D. While still a youth he went to Smyrna to study rhetoric — the teaching of which he later took up

¹ Pseud.-Arist. 806a.

² Förster, *Script. Physiog.* I, Proleg. p. xx. This Rose denies, *De Aristotelis Librorum Ordine et Auctoritate Commentatio* (Berlin, 1854), p. 222, but he gives no reasons for his opinion.

³ See the examples given by Förster, *De Arist. quae feruntur Physiog. Ind. ac Condic.* pp. 294-298; *Script. Physiog.* I, Proleg. p. xx: *amborum autem libellorum qui solum ob argumenti similitudinem coniuncti esse videntur, reliquiae tantum ad nos pervenerunt. plenius hoc opusculum duobus libellis comprehensum nisi omnia fallunt, legit Suetonius, e cuius περὶ βλασφημιῶν libro manaverunt quae sunt apud Pollucem, 2, 135. . . . certe Polemo sophista Laodicensis qui magnam partem operis de physiognomoniam conscripti huic opusculo neque solum alteri, sed etiam quamquam minorem, priori parti debet.*

⁴ For a recent account of this man see G. Misener, "Loxus, Physician and Physiognomist," *Classical Philology*, XVIII (1923), pp. 1-22.

⁵ Diog. L. 7, 173. Cf. Dio Chrys. Or. 33 (*Or. Tars. prior*), 52.

⁶ J. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca*, IV (Oxford University Press, 1837), p. 255. Cod. σχήματος.

as his profession — and became the distinguished *declamator* of Smyrna.¹ Of the men under whom he studied, Philostratus² mentions Timocrates, Euphrates, Scopelian, and Dio Chrysostom. He was a contemporary of Herodes Atticus, a bitter enemy of Favorinus, and he numbered among his own pupils the Greek orator Aristides. So esteemed was he by the citizens of Smyrna that he quickly achieved high honors there. It was about the year 113 A.D. that he was sent, so Philostratus tells us,³ in place of Scopelian as ambassador ὑπὲρ μεγίστων to Rome to the Emperor Trajan, from whom he obtained the right to travel free of expense by land and sea.⁴ During the reign of Hadrian he achieved his greatest triumphs. Of his friendship with the emperor we have some information from the Arabic version of his work on physiognomy, where he describes a journey⁵ which he took with Hadrian in the East in 123 A.D.(?) It is not strange, therefore, to find that, when Hadrian came to Athens and dedicated the great temple of Olympian Zeus, Polemo⁶ delivered the oration. Through Polemo's friendship with the emperor, furthermore, the city of Smyrna re-

¹ For a careful study of his life and career see H. Jüttner, "De Polemonis Rhetoris Vita Operibus Arte," in *Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen*, VIII (1902), pp. 1-116.

² *Vitae Soph.* I, 536; 539. The principal ancient source for Polemo's life is this work.

³ *Id.*, I, 521.

⁴ *Id.*, I, 532.

⁵ Förster, *Script. Physiog.* I, p. 138 (translated from the Arabic by G. Hoffmann): *etenim aliquando regem maximum comitabar. dum igitur cum eo ex Brâqa in Asiam proficiscimur, comitantibus regem exercitibus et navibus vir iste se iis adiunxit. praeteriimus autem multa oppida donec ad mare pervenimus. tum ille in Bân et Alsrûs et regiones Lydiae et Phrygiae et multa loca vectus est. deinde in Asiam revertimur per fretum in mari et ad Rûkhs adpulit. deinde navigiis in Anîs profectus est et in hoc itinere naves maritimae regi obviam venire coeperunt. itaque cum in Asiam pervenissemus ad illum virum deverti. . . .* He describes the eyes of the Emperor Hadrian (I, p. 148): *sunt certe oculi Hadriani imperatoris huius generis nisi quod luminis pulchri pleni sunt atque charopi acres obtutu, cum inter homines visus non sit quisquam luminosiore praeditus oculo.* Cf. Förster, *op. cit.*, II, p. 52; Anon. *Physiog. Lat.*: *tales Palemon auctor refert fuisse oculos Hadriani imperatoris: χαροποις, humidos, acres, magnos, luminis plenos.*

In this article Polemo hereafter will be cited by page number only. Adamantius, found in *Script. Physiog.* I, likewise will be cited by page number only. The anonymous Latin handbook on physiognomy found in *Script. Physiog.* II will be cited by volume number and page number.

⁶ Philost. *op. cit.*, I, 533.

ceived many gifts and special attentions from Hadrian.¹ Under Antoninus Pius we hear less of his activities.² But in 143 A.D. he came to Italy, where, in the presence of Marcus Aurelius, he delivered a number of orations.³ Though Jüttner⁴ states that he was considered *sophistarum Asianorum quasi princeps*, we do not know a great deal of his own school of rhetoric, and only two of his speeches have survived.⁵ Of his book on physiognomy written in Greek, which Jüttner regards as his most important work, we have the Arabic translation mentioned above, the Greek paraphrase of Adamantius of Alexandria, and a later anonymous Latin version. To both parts of the little tract attributed to Aristotle Polemo was, as we have already indicated, much indebted. He frequently added, however, descriptions of men whom he had actually observed⁶ whose physical features were in accord with the principles he was setting forth. He especially followed the lead of Aristotle in showing close parallelisms between men and animals. The significance of each part of the body he treated with rather greater elaborateness than did the authors of the pseudo-Aristotelian manual. At least one third of his work is devoted to the subject of the eyes. His importance in the field of physiognomy is clear from the fact that in treatises of later periods his name occurs repeatedly.⁷

II

If we turn now to the descriptions of physique as they appear in the historical records and historical literature of Rome, we find among

¹ *Id.*, I, 531 ff.

² Despite the fact that Philostratus tells us that Polemo once turned the future emperor, at that time proconsul of all Asia, out of his house, Antoninus Pius apparently did not bear it against him. *Id.*, I, 534: *ταῖς δὲ ἐκάστοτε τιμαῖς ἐπὶ μέγα ἤρην ἐγγυώμενός που τὸ μὴ μεμνησθαι.*

³ Fronto, *Ep.* 2, 5.

⁴ Jüttner, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁵ *Eis Kynaiγειρον* and *Eis Καλλιμαχον.*

⁶ See the article by Josef Mesk, "Die Beispiele in Polemons Physiognomonik," in *Wiener Studien*, L (1932), pp. 51-67.

⁷ He seems to have eclipsed in reputation Loxus and all other ancient authorities on the subject save Aristotle, and to have received the highest acclaim among later writers. Unfortunately none of our manuals on physiognomy is completely preserved. For an account of physiognomy in antiquity see R. Förster, *Die Physiognomik der Griechen* (Kiel, 1884), especially pp. 15-16.

the earliest those in the epitaphs of the Scipios. Here, for example, is that of Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, consul 298 B.C. (the first type):¹

Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus
Gnaivod patre prognatus fortis vir sapiensque
quoius forma virtutei parisuma fuit. . . .

Or again almost a hundred and fifty years later is the epitaph of Claudia, ca. 133-122 B.C.:²

Hospes quod deico paullum est: asta ac pellege.
heic est sepulcrum hau pulcrum pulcrai feminae.
nomen parentes nominarunt Claudiam
.
sermone lepidio, tum autem incessu commodo.
domum servavit, lanam fecit. dixi. abei.

Such expressions are part and parcel of Roman historical writing. The description is of the simplest sort, yet briefly suggests the unchanging excellence of body and character in the case of both Scipio and Claudia.

Compared with Tacitus or Ammianus Marcellinus, Livy uses fairly infrequently the description of personal appearance for the purpose of characterization.³ But we have an excellent estimate of Scipio Africanus. The descriptions are of the second type, for Livy prefers to show the power exerted over the minds of his soldiers and over those of his enemies by the authority and dignity evident in the appearance of this general. During the height of a mutinous uprising at Sucro, when the leaders of the rebellion were assembled before Scipio, his very face created terror:⁴

Tum omnis ferocia concidit, et ut postea fatebantur, nihil aequè eos teruit quam praeter spem robur et color imperatoris, quem adfectum visuros

¹ *C. I. L.* I², 6, 7.

² *C. I. L.* I², 1211.

³ In order to avoid unnecessary repetition I am including in an appendix a classified list of the more important descriptions, that have come to my attention from the Roman historians, of the first and second type. I shall discuss here only a few examples from Livy, Tacitus, and Ammianus Marcellinus to point out their use and significance.

⁴ 28, 26. Cf. 28, 27.

crediderant, vultusque qualem ne in acie quidem aiebant meminisse. sedit tacitus paulisper, donec nuntiatum est deductos in forum auctores seditionis et parata omnia esse.

Then after the suppression of the rebellion Livy continues:¹

Scipio cum fide solvendi pariter omnibus noxiis innoxiiisque stipendii tum vultu ac sermone in omnes placato facile reconciliatis militum animis, priusquam castra ab Carthagine moveret, contione advocata, multis verbis in perfidiam rebellantium regulorum invectus.

Or again at Zama, before the Roman troops went into battle-line against Hannibal's forces, Scipio addressed them:² *celsus haec corpore voltuque ita laeto, ut vicisse iam crederes, dicebat*. When he received Masinissa for the first time, the effect which his appearance produced on the Numidian was overpowering:³

Ceperat iam ante Numidam ex fama rerum gestarum admiratio viri, substitueratque animo speciem quoque corporis amplam ac magnificam; ceterum maior praesentis veneratio cepit; et, praeterquam quod suapte natura multa maiestas inerat, adornabat promissa caesaries habitusque corporis non cultus munditiis, sed virilis vere ac militaris, et aetas erat in medio virium robore quod plenius nitidiusque ex morbo velut renovatus flos iuventae faciebat.

In Tacitus we discover that the description of physique has even a more vital place in the narrative. For the most part the descriptions occur in the brief analysis of an individual's vices or virtues, as in the case of Domitius Corbulo:⁴ *corpore ingens, verbis magnificis et super experientiam sapientiamque etiam specie inanum validus*, or Lateranus:⁵ *animi validus et corpore ingens*, or Sejanus:⁶ *corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax; sui obtegens, in alios criminator*. . . . Or descriptions are inserted in the narrative as the occasion demands to suggest or emphasize some momentary state of the mind. Tacitus

¹ 28, 32.

² 30, 32.

³ 28, 35.

⁴ *Ann.* 13, 8.

⁵ *Id.*, 15, 53.

⁶ *Id.*, 4, 1 (first type). Cf. *id.*, 2, 72 (Tacitus's description of Germanicus as he was dying): *tanta illi comitas in socios, mansuetudo in hostes, visuque et auditu iuxta venerabilis* (second type), *cum magnitudinem et gravitatem summae fortunae retineret, invidiam et adrogantiam effugerat*. Cf. *id.*, 2, 73.

states that his purpose in writing the *Annals* is to show outstanding examples of political vice or virtue for posterity to condemn or admire.¹ In such a history delineation of character, analysis of motives, is fundamental. How, for example, could the historian better impress on his reader's consciousness the way in which the bitterness and hypocrisy of the Emperor Tiberius affected those with whom he was associated and, in turn, the way in which the emperor was affected by those around him than by a brief description of their visible reactions to significant events? The picture of the emperor is far from pleasant; Tacitus leaves us a vivid account of the tragic ugliness of his later years, when his appearance was by no means inconsistent with the reputed faults of his character at that period:²

Erant qui crederent in senectute corporis quoque habitum pudori fuisse; quippe illi praegracilis et incurva proceritas, nudus capillo vertex, ulcerosa facies, ac plerumque medicaminibus interstincta.

This description, almost verging on the third or Suetonian type, may be compared with Tacitus's famous analysis of his life at the end of the sixth book. His *mores* varied with his fortune:³

Egregiumque vita famaue quoad privatus vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit; occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus, donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuere; idem inter bona malaque mixtus incolumi matre, inestabilis saevitia, sed obtectis libidinibus dum Seianum dilexit timuitve, postremo in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit, postquam remoto pudore et metu suo tantum ingenio utebatur.

Rather different is the emphasis in the picture of Tiberius in Tacitus from that in Suetonius. The latter tends to balance the good and bad in his life, both of character and physique. Tacitus is impressed by the effect that the austere tragedy of his last years produced in his physical appearance. Briefer, momentary glimpses of the emperor appear throughout the *Annals*. *Neque vultu mutato*⁴ he is described when the revolt of the Treviri and the Aedui and sixty-four Gallic states was announced to him. To such a point was he able to conceal his anger against Libo Drusus (reported to him as one engaged in a conspiracy

¹ *Id.*, 3, 65.

² *Id.*, 4, 57.

³ *Id.*, 6, 51. Cf. Pseud.-Arist. 807b, and p. 69, n. 12.

⁴ *Id.*, 3, 44.

against the state) that ¹ *atque interim Libonem ornat praetura, convictibus adhibet, non vultu alienatus, non verbis commotior*, but before he read the accusation and named the accusers against Libo, the defendant ² *manus ac supplices voces ad Tiberium tendens immoto eius vultu excipitur*. When Germanicus died, Tiberius and Livia remained aloof from public lamentation: ³ *inferius maiestate sua rati, si palam lamentarentur, an ne omnium oculis vultum eorum scrutantibus falsi intellexerentur*. Tacitus compares that unfortunate man with Tiberius: ⁴ *nam iuveni civile ingenium, mira comitas et diversa ab Tiberio sermone, vultu, adrogantibus et obscuris*. Against the son of Germanicus, Nero, he was strongly prejudiced, owing to the influence of Sejanus: ⁵ *enimvero Tiberius torvus aut falsum renidens vultu: seu loqueretur, seu taceret iuvenis, crimen ex silentio, ex voce*. . . . Even on the deathbed of the emperor Tacitus concludes: ⁶

Iam Tiberium corpus, iam vires, nondum dissimulatio deserebat; idem animi rigor; sermone ac vultu intentus, quaesita interdum comitate quamvis manifestam defectionem tegebat.

In contrast with the gloomy description of the Emperor Tiberius is that of Agricola, where Tacitus, following the convention of the encomium, praises τὰ περὶ τὸ σῶμα in a description which is purely of the second type: ⁷

Quod si habitum quoque eius posterius noscere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit: nihil impetus et metus in vultu; gratia oris supererat; bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter.

¹ *Id.*, 2, 28.

² *Id.*, 2, 29. Cf. 2, 34 (L. Piso affair); 3, 67 (trial of Silanus); 4, 34 (trial of Cremutius Cordus).

³ *Id.*, 3, 3.

⁴ *Id.*, 1, 33.

⁵ *Id.*, 4, 60. Cf. 4, 15.

⁶ *Id.*, 6, 50. Cf. 4, 34.

⁷ *Agric.* 44. In appendix A I have included examples of similar descriptions from Pliny's panegyric on Trajan and from the later writers of panegyrics. The examples from Cicero's orations show the use of the same type of description, mostly for the opposite purpose of vituperation. The descriptions in Nepos are sometimes of an encomiastic nature like that of Agricola, sometimes simple like that of Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus.

In Ammianus Marcellinus, writing in the fourth century, Tacitus had an able continuer of his histories of imperial Rome, though the historian of Julian was likewise an imitator of the Suetonian method. Like Tacitus he was led to use the brief description of the countenance to make his reader more keenly aware of the mental and emotional reactions of the individual whose career he was narrating. Julian above all others was the especial object of his interest. When Julian was created Caesar by Constantius, the people, looking upon his face, studied his character: ¹ *cuius oculos cum venustate terribiles, vultumque excitatius gratum, diu multumque contuentes, qui futurus sit colligebant*. When he was haranguing his troops, he inspired a greater faith in them by his facial expression: ²

Signo itaque per lituos dato, cum centuriae omnes et cohortes et manipuli convenissent, ipse aggere glebali adsistens, coronaque celsarum circumdatus potestatum talia ore sereno disseruit, favorabilis studio concordi cunctorum.

And like Scipio he created awe in the minds of the vanquished, as in the case of Hortarius, who ³ *ad colloquium tandem accitus a Caesare tremantibus oculis adorato, victorisque superatus aspectu, condicione difficili premebatur*. The method is the same as that of Tacitus, though a survey of the examples reveals that their occurrence is less frequent.

It may be well to notice at this point certain features of the descriptions of the second type. We find those of the momentary appearance of men and women drawn from all classes of society. It is impossible to reduce the occasions on which they may occur to a precise classification, but it is an interesting fact that a number of them are of the appearance of men about to speak before a group or assembly, in other words, orators *ipso facto*, who carry out the principles of theoretical rhetorical training. This device of description (e.g., Livy, 45, 10) marks, then, a connecting link between the theoretical material on the subject of gesture and facial expression found in Cicero and Quintilian and the actual delivery as recorded by

¹ Amm. Marc. 15, 8, 16. Cf. 15, 8, 11.

² 23, 5, 15. Cf. 16, 12, 39; 20, 5, 2; 21, 5, 1.

³ 17, 10, 9. Cf. 21, 9, 8.

Cicero in the *Brutus* and by the historians. It is a type especially common in Tacitus.¹ The appearance of a commander before his army is another occasion on which these descriptions are often used, and vice versa, the appearance of soldiers before their general or before the enemy, especially in Livy, Quintus Curtius Rufus, Tacitus, and Ammianus Marcellinus.

III

The third type of description brings us to Suetonius and the handbooks on physiognomy. Here we discover fairly frequent references in Latin literature of the empire, especially of the first and second centuries after Christ, and likewise in Greek literature of the same period, indicative of the fact that the theories and principles of the physiognomists were distinctly popular during the lifetime of Suetonius. A few examples will show the general nature of such evidence. Dio Chrysostom, the distinguished rhetor of Bithynia, of whom, according to Philostratus, Polemo was an admirer, suggests that such studies were not alien to his age:² τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα ξύμβολα τῆς ἀκрасίας μὲνύει τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν, ἡ φωνή, τὸ βλέμμα, τὸ σχῆμα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ δοκοῦντα σμικρὰ καὶ ἐν μηδενὶ λόγῳ, κουρά, περίπατος, τὸ τὰ ὄμματα ἀναστρέφειν, τὸ ἐγκλίνειν τὸν τράχηλον, τὸ ταῖς χερσὶν ὑπτίαις διαλέγεσθαι. μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε αὐλήματα μὲν καὶ κρούματα καὶ μέλη τὰ μὲν ἐμφαίνειν τὸ ἀνδρεῖον, τὰ δὲ τὸ θῆλυ, κινήσεις δὲ καὶ πράξεις μὴ διαφέρειν μηδ' εἶναι μηδένα ἐν τούτοις ἔλεγχον. Plutarch in the *Parallel Lives*, though he does not strictly use the formal Suetonian *schemata* in the description of physical appearance, is an adherent of the doctrines of the physiognomical handbooks, for instance, in the life of Alexander:³ ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ ζωγράφοι τὰς ὁμοιότητας ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν ὄψιν εἰδῶν, οἷς ἐμφαίνεται τὸ ἦθος, ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, ἐλάχιστα τῶν λοιπῶν μερῶν φροντίζοντες· οὕτως ἡμῖν δοτέον

¹ *Ann.* 4, 15; 12, 18; 16, 29; *Hist.* 1, 16-17; 2, 48; 4, 40; 4, 43.

² *Or.* 33 (*Or. Tars. prior*), 52. Cf. Philostratus in the life of Hippodromus (*Vit. Soph.* 2, 618), where he mentions a certain Megistias as an outstanding physiognomist of Smyrna. Origen was intensely interested in the subject, and speaks of Polemo in this connection in the *Contra Celsum*, 1, 33.

³ *Alex.* 1, 3. Cf. *Alcib.* 4, 1; *Anton.* 4, 1; *Pomp.* 48, 7; *Quaest. conv.* 5, 7, 3, p. 681d; *De Cap. ex Inim. Util.* 6, p. 89e.

εἰς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς σημεῖα μᾶλλον ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ διὰ τούτων εἰδοποιεῖν τὸν ἐκάστου βίον. The satirists, as one might expect, found in the doctrines of the physiognomists a fertile field for biting criticism. Juvenal is especially virulent: ¹

Frontis nulla fides; quis enim non vicus abundat
tristibus obscenis? castigas turpia, cum sis
inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinaedos?
hispida membra quidem et durae per brachia saetae
promittunt atrocem animum. . . .
rarus sermo illis et magna libido tacendi
atque supercilio brevior coma. verius ergo
et magis ingenue Peribomius. hunc ego fatis
inputo, qui vultu morbum, incessuque fatetur.

Seneca even earlier, true to the Stoic interest in physiognomy, is not without comment on the subject. He describes the angry man: ²

Ut scias autem non esse sanos quos ira possedit, ipsum illorum habitum intueri; nam ut furentium certa indicia sunt audax et minax vultus, tristis frons, torva facies, citatus gradus, inquietae manus, color versus, crebra et vehementius acta suspiria, ita irascentium eadem signa sunt; flagrant ac micant oculi, multus ore toto rubor, exaestuante ab imis praecordiis sanguine, labra quatiuntur, dentes comprimuntur, horrent ac surriguntur capilli, spiritus coactus ac stridens, articulorum se ipsos torquentium sonus, gemitus mugitusque et parum explanatis vocibus sermo praeruptus et complosae saepius manus et pulsata humus pedibus et totum concitum corpus magnasque irae minas agens . . . neque enim ulla vehementior intrat concitatio, quae nihil moveat in vultu.

In the *Epistulae morales* Seneca writes to Lucilius on the choosing of teachers: ³

¹ 2, 8 ff.; 9, 1 ff.; 9, 130 ff.; Mart. 12, 54; 6, 39; Phaedr. 3, 4, 3; 4, 2, 5; 4, 16, 7; 5, 1, 9; Petron. *Sat.* 126; Gell. 1, 9, 2; 19, 7, 16; Apul. *Apol.* 24; Lucian, *Rhet. Praecepta*, 11. Cf. 19 and 20; *Imag.* 11; *Fugit.* 4.

² *De Ira*, 1, 1, 3 ff. Cf. Sallust's description of Catiline, *Cat.* 15. For the physiognomical interpretation of such appearance see Pseud.-Arist. 806b; Polemo, 260. Seneca also describes the appearance of the mad Caligula; *Dial.* 2, 18: *tanta illi palloris insaniam testantis foeditas erat, tanta oculorum sub fronte anili latentium torvitas, tanta capitis destituti et emendicaticiis capillis aspersi deformitas. adice obsessam saetis cervicem et exilitatem crurum et enormitatem pedum.* Cf. *De Ira*, 1, 1, 7; 2, 35, 3-4; 2, 19, 5.

³ *Epist. mor.* 5, 52, 12. Cf. 7, 66, 4; 19, 114. Marcus Aurelius is likewise true to earlier Stoic tradition and to the interest in physiognomy current in his own day.

Omnia rerum omnium, si observentur, indicia sunt, et argumentum morum ex minimis quoque licet capere: inpudicum et incessus ostendit et manus mota et unum interdum responsum et relatus ad caput digitus et flexus oculorum. improbum risus, insanum vultus habitusque demonstrat. illa enim in apertum per notas exeunt: qualis quisque sit, scies, si quem ad modum laudet, quem ad modum laudetur, adspexeris. . . .

The doctrines of the Peripatetics bearing on physiognomy find a place among Latin writers of the first century after Christ in Pliny's *Natural History*,¹ where Pliny comments on Aristotle's theories of physical signs for determining duration of life. He has himself no confidence in such physical indications, considering them utterly futile; but, because Aristotle did not treat the subject with contempt, he feels bound to set down some remarks upon it. The indications of a short life are few teeth, very long fingers, a leaden color, and numerous broken lines in the palm of the hand. He looks upon the following as signs of a long life: stooping in the shoulders, one or two unbroken lines in the hand, a greater number than two and thirty teeth, and large ears. Pliny continues, "Our own writer Trogus" — and here he refers, of course, to Pompeius Trogus, the historian — "has in a similar manner set down physiognomy as indicative of the moral disposition, one of the gravest of the Roman authors, whose own words I will here subjoin: ²

Frons quibus est magna, segnem animum subesse significat; quibus parva, mobilem; quibus rotunda, iracundum, velut hoc vestigio tumoris apparente. supercilia quibus porriguntur in rectum, molles significant; quibus iuxta nasum flexa sunt, austeros; quibus iuxta tempora inflexa, derisores; quibus in totum demissa, malevolos et invidios. oculi quibus

See p. 51. Cf. *Tōn eis éautón*, 7, 37; 7, 60; and especially 11, 15: *ὡς σαπρὸς καὶ κίβδηλος ὁ λέγων "ἐγὼ προήρημαι ἀπλῶς σοι προσφέρεισθαι." τί ποιεῖς, ἄνθρωπε; τοῦτο οὐ δεῖ προλέγειν. αὐτοῦ φανήσεται ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου γεγράφθαι ὀφείλει, εὐθὺς ἢ φωνῇ τοιοῦτον ἤχει, εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς ὀμμασιν ἐξέχει, ὡς τῶν ἐραστῶν ἐν τῷ βλέμματι πάντα εὐθὺς γνωρίζει ὁ ἐρώμενος.*

¹ *N. H.* 11, 274 ff.

² *N. H.* 11, 274 (cf. *Arist. Hist. Anim.* 1, 9, p. 491b). Cf. *N. H.* 11, 138; 11, 185; 11, 200 (*Arist. De Part. Anim.* 3, 14, p. 675b); 11, 205. With 11, 158: *infra eas (malas) hilaritatem risumque indicantes buccae et altior homini tantum, quem novi mores subdolae inrisioni dicavere, nasus* should be compared Horace, *S.* 1, 6, 5: *naso suspendis adunco ignotos* and *Ep.* 1, 19, 45: *ad haec ego naribus uti formido*. For other examples from the ancient authors see Förster, *Script. Physiog.* II, pp. 237 ff.

utrimque sunt longi, maleficos moribus esse indicant; qui carnosos a naribus angulos habent, malitiae notam praebent; candida pars extenta notam impudentiae habet; qui identidem aperiri solent, inconstantiae. oricularum magnitudo loquacitatis et stultitiae nota est. hactenus Trogus."

Pliny describes the eyes of the emperors with some care, in terms which are akin to those found in Suetonius:¹

Oculi homini tantum diverso colore, ceteris in suo cuique genere similes. et equorum quibusdam glauci, sed in homine numerosissimae varietatis atque differentiae: grandiores, modici, parvi; prominentes quos hebetiores putant, conditi quos clarissime cernere sicuti colore caprinos. praeterea alii contuentur longinqua, alii nisi prope admota non cernunt. . . . ferunt Ti. Caesari nec alii genitorum mortalium fuisse naturam ut expergefactus noctu paulisper haut alio modo quam luce clara contueretur omnia, paulatim tenebris sese obducentibus. Divo Augusto equorum modo glauci fuere, superque hominem albicantis magnitudinis, quam ob causam diligentius spectari eos iracunde ferebat; Claudio Caesari ab angulis candore carnosio sanguineis venis subinde suffusi; Gaio principi rigentes; Neroni . . . nisi, cum coniveret ad prope admota, hebetes.

And he concludes the passage with these very significant words:

Neque ulla ex parte [quam ex oculo] maiora animi indicia cunctis animalibus, sed homini maxime, id est moderationis, clementiae, misericordiae, odii, amoris, tristitiae, laetitiae. contuitu quoque multiformes, truces, torvi, flagrantes, graves, transversi, limi, summissi, blandi. profecto in oculis animus habitat.

Such then is the setting for a study of the descriptions in the biographies of Suetonius, who as a faithful follower of Alexandrian tradition records all the known facts about the lives of the emperors.² Suetonius as *magister epistularum* from 119 A.D. until the year 121 A.D. was associated with Hadrian and his court in considerable intimacy,

¹ *N. H.* 11, 141-145.

² Photographic descriptions from Peripatetic biographies are rarely preserved. Miss Misener (*Icon. Port.* pp. 107-110) quotes several fragments, e.g., that in Cyrillus from the *Life of Socrates* by Aristoxenus (*F. H. G.* II, 280; cf. II, 244): τοῦτον (Spintharus) λέγειν ὅτι οὐ πολλοῖς αὐτός γε πιθανωτέροις ἐντετυχηκῶς εἶη· τοιαύτην εἶναι τὴν τε φωνὴν καὶ τὸ στόμα καὶ τὸ ἐπιφαινόμενον ἥθος καὶ πρὸς πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὴν τοῦ εἶδους ιδιότητα. Dicaearchus and Hieronymus describe in much the same fashion an imaginary portrait of Heracles (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* 2, 26). Miss Misener adds: "The descriptive terms are those used in the peripatetic manuals on physiognomy and the contemporary Egyptian papyri."

in a post requiring discretion and circumspection. Pliny the younger, his close friend, described him in a letter to Trajan¹ as *probissimum, honestissimum, eruditissimum virum*. During his tenure of office he must have had ready access to the imperial archives, from which he gleaned much of the material presented in the *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, published as early as 121 A.D. We must remember that just before this period Polemo of Laodicea, a contemporary of Suetonius, had been sent from Smyrna to Rome to the Emperor Trajan, and that shortly afterwards he was closely associated with the Emperor Hadrian. Certainly the name of Polemo, if not the man himself, must have been known to Suetonius.

Suetonius relates how the imperial family sought the advice of a *metoposcopus* to determine the future of the young Britannicus:²

Educatus in aula cum Britannico simul ac paribus disciplinis et apud eosdem magistros institutus. quo quidem tempore aiunt metoposcopum

Although from the period of Dicaearchus to the first century almost no fragments have come down to us, citations from writers of the period in later works would indicate that such descriptions continued, since Plutarch and Dionysius of Halicarnassus state that the source of their information about Demosthenes was Demetrius of Phalerum (*Demosth.* 11, 1. Cf. *De Demosth.* 53): τὴν ἀσάφειαν καὶ τραυλότητα τῆς γλώττης — τὰ σωματικὰ ἐλαττώματα. Satyrus (*F. H. G.* III, 160) left a portrait — idealized — of Alcibiades. From the same period comes the description of Zeno by Apollonius of Tyre, probably based on writings of the Stoic school, preserved in Diog. L. 7, 1: Ἀπολλώνιος . . . ὅτι ἰσχνὸς ἦν, ὑπομήκης, μελάγχρως, παχύκνημὸς τε καὶ ἀπαγῆς καὶ ἀσθενῆς. From Timotheus of Athens are derived through Diogenes Laertius the descriptions of Zeno (7, 1): τὸν τράχηλον ἐπὶ θάτερα νενευκῶς; of Speusippus (4, 1): τὸ σῶμα διακεχυμένος; of Aristotle (5, 1): τραυλός; and of Plato (3, 5): ἰσχνόφωνος, which Miss Misener observes "show a tendency toward criticism and physiognomical interpretation" (*op. cit.*, p. 110). Plutarch's interest in physiognomical theories has been noticed above, and he remains in the present day the outstanding figure in Peripatetic biography whose works are extant. Since therefore it is apparent that in the Peripatetic lives of the philosophers and in the work of Alexandrian continuators the doctrines of physiognomy had some force, it is worth while to reconsider Miss Misener's statement regarding the descriptions found in Suetonius: "These descriptions have no physiognomical significance, although the language recalls the technical vocabulary of the handbooks" (*op. cit.*, p. 118).

¹ *Ep.* 10, 94. Suetonius was dismissed from his secretaryship for a breach of court etiquette.

² *Tit.* 2.

a Narcisso Claudii liberto adhibitum, ut Britannicum inspiceret, constantissime affirmasse illum quidem nullo modo, ceterum Titum qui tunc prope astabat, utique imperaturum.

Tiberius, the biographer says,¹ walked with his neck stiff and upright, generally with a frowning countenance, being for the most part silent. When he spoke to those about it was very slowly, and usually with a slight gesticulation of his fingers, *quae omnia ingrata atque adrogantiae plena et animadvertit Augustus in eo et excusare temptavit saepe apud senatum ac populum professus naturae vitia esse, non animi*. Similarly of Domitian Suetonius writes:² *commendari se verecundia oris adeo sentiebat, ut apud senatum sic quondam iactaverit: usque adhuc certe et animum meum probastis et vultum*. And of Otho:³ *tanto Othonis animo nequaquam corpus aut habitus competit. fuisse enim et modicae staturae et male pedatus scambusque traditur*. Suetonius's lost work, *De Vitiis corporalibus*, dealing descriptively with both the parts of the body and the defects of the body, would explain why he was concerned so often to record the physical weaknesses of the imperial family. But much stronger evidence of Suetonius's interest in physiognomy comes from the fragments of an epitome of his lost *Περὶ βλασφημιῶν* which Miller has published.⁴ Several terms are defined from a physiognomical point of view. The most significant fragment, apparently derived from the pseudo-Aristotelian handbook, reads as follows:⁵ *βυσσάχην· ὁ ἐπιβουλευτικός*; for in the handbook we find:⁶ *οἷς δὲ βραχὺς <τράχηλος> ἄγαν, ἐπίβουλοι*. Pollux, for whom Suetonius is an important source, may well have derived directly from him the passage which he cites

¹ *Tib.* 68.

² *Dom.* 18.

³ *Otho*, 12.

⁴ M. E. Miller, *Mélanges de Littérature grecque* (Paris, 1868), pp. 415-425. Cf. Förster, *op. cit.*, II, 278-279. In this epitome occur such expressions as (p. 415) *λευκόπυγος· ὁ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἔμπαλιν μελάμπυγος· ὁ ἀνδρεῖος*; (p. 421) *λέμφος· ὁ ἀνόητος καὶ μυζώδης*.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 418. Philemon Holland, whose translation of Suetonius appeared in 1606, annotates the description of Tiberius (68) thus: *cervice obstipa*, "Such be termed in Greeke *βυσσάχηνες*. And if we may beleieve the Physiognomie delivered by Aristotle they be by nature deceitfull and wilie, given to circumvent, entrap and supplant others."

⁶ 811a. Cf. A. Macé, *Essai sur Suétone* (Paris, 1900), pp. 267-269; 417-418.

in his *Onomasticon* under the name of Aristotle:¹ βυσαύχην δὲ ὁ τοὺς μὲν ὤμους ἀνέλκων, τὸν δὲ αὐχένα συνέλκων, ὃν ἐπίβουλον Ἀριστοτέλης φυσιογνωμονεῖ. It is a fair conjecture that Suetonius, like Polemo, was familiar with the fuller version of the Peripatetic manual on physiognomy. We cannot assume, of course, that Suetonius had any personal connection with Polemo, for neither is the date of composition of the rhetor's handbook known, nor is there any direct evidence that Suetonius had actually read the book. But the striking parallelism of the ideas and expressions in Suetonius and those in the pseudo-Aristotelian manual as well as those in Polemo is of no little importance. With the evidence of the *Περὶ βλασφημιῶν* as a point of departure I have attempted to chart the details of the Suetonian descriptions side by side with the pseudo-Aristotelian doctrines and the corresponding passages from Polemo.

I do not mean to imply that Suetonius in the *Lives* of the emperors made unflinching use of physiognomical tags in his descriptions of personal appearance. In many instances it is impossible to find exact parallels in the two handbooks. In the first place, our manuals have not come down to us entire. Portrait sculpture undoubtedly contributed to iconography in literature,² and I should never hesitate to grant that the *testimonia* of identification drawn from the papyri provided — through Alexandrian biographers — another source for interest in *iconismos*. My purpose is rather to bring the little handbooks on physiognomy to the attention of the readers of Suetonius and Ammianus Marcellinus. The conclusion of this investigation has been that Suetonius, though not tampering in any way with the traditional portrait of an emperor, has nevertheless at times laid particular emphasis on certain aspects of the physique, which from the point of view of the physiognomists indicate either the virtuous or vicious nature of an emperor's character. A few examples will clarify this statement. Suetonius takes especial interest in the use of phrases relating to the good proportions of the human body, as when he describes Tiberius as³ *latus ab umeris et pectore, ceteris quoque membris usque ad imos pedes*

¹ 2, 135. Förster, *op. cit.*, I, Proleg. xx, believes this to be the case. Cf. in this connection Eustath. ad *Il.* 11, 159; Quintil. *Inst.* 11, 3, 83.

² See J. J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie* (Stuttgart, 1882-1894), I-IV, especially II, 1-3.

³ *Tib.* 68.

aequalis et congruens, or Augustus, who had¹ *staturam brevem quam tamen Iulius Marathus libertus *etiam memoriam eius quinque pedum et dodrantis fuisse tradit . . . sed quae commoditate et aequitate membrorum occuleretur*, or Domitian, who was² *praeterea pulcher et decens, maxime in iuventa et quidem toto corpore exceptis pedibus, quorum digitos restrictiores habebat*. In the descriptions from the papyri collected by Fürst and in the more recently published papyri,³ the phrases *εὐμεγέθης* and *μέσος μεγέθει* occur over and over again, but the spirit of the descriptions is far different from that in Suetonius. Marks of identification are emphasized (*οὐλή*); interest in good proportions does not seem to appear there. But the physiognomists, on the other hand, attribute the greatest significance to right proportions in the human body. An ill-proportioned body — *σῶμα ἀσύμμετρον*⁴ — indicates a rogue, says the pseudo-Aristotelian manual, while a well-proportioned frame is characteristic of upright men and brave. The lion,⁵ which manifestly exhibits the male type in its most perfect form, is thus endowed with a well-proportioned body. In soul the lion is generous and liberal, proud and ambitious, yet gentle and just and affectionate to his comrades. The panther,⁶ on the other hand, of all animals accounted brave, approximates more closely to the feminine type and has its whole body ill-articulated and ill-proportioned. In soul it is mean and thievish, and, in a word, a beast of low cunning. Thus Caligula, the description of whose cruel and vicious nature is a vivid picture on the pages of Suetonius, was⁷ *statura eminenti . . . corpore enormi, gracilitate maxima cervicis et crurum*; and Nero was⁸ *statura*

¹ Aug. 79.

² Dom. 18. Cf. also Vesp. 20: *statura fuit quadrata compactis firmisque membris*.

³ Cf. L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, I–III (Leipzig, 1912); Johannes Hasebroek, *Das Signalement in den Papyrusurkunden* (Leipzig, 1921); Franciscus Smolka, “De Ratione Personarum describendarum in Papyrorum Actis adhibita,” in *Eos*, XXVII (1924), 75–88; F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, I–II (Berlin, 1925).

⁴ Pseud.-Arist. 814a.

⁵ 809b.

⁶ 810a.

⁷ Calig. 50.

⁸ Nero, 51. Cf. the description of Otho, whose physical appearance in no way compared with his mind (*Otho*, 12). Domitian as a young man displayed excellent proportions in his body, but this was marred in later life (*Dom.* 18). Titus as a youth displayed outstanding qualities both of appearance and of character and

prope iusta . . . cervice obesa, ventre proiecto, gracillimis cruribus. In the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* there is little to be found which is significant on this point. In Ammianus Marcellinus, however, we meet again the interest in good proportions. Of Valentinian he says ¹ *atque pulchritudo staturae liniamentorumque recta conpago maiestatis regiae decus implebat.* Julian was ² *ab ipso capite usque unguium summitates liniamentorum recta conpage.*

When we study the *imagines* of the emperors in detail, Augustus, as described by Suetonius, we can most easily associate with the lion.

Augustus had: ³

- (1) *oculos claros ac nitidos*
- (2) *capillum leviter inflexum et subflavum*
- (3) *colorem inter aquilum candidumque*
- (4) *staturam brevem, quam tamen Iulius Marathus libertus* etiam memoriam eius quinque pedum et dodrantis fuisse tradit, sed quae commoditate et aequitate membrorum occuleretur, etc.*

The lion had: ⁴

ὀφθαλμοὺς χαροπούς
 τράχηλον εὐμήκη πάχει σύμμετρον
 θριξὶ ξανθαῖς
 κεχρημένον οὐ φριξαῖς οὔτε ἄγαν
 ἀπεστραμμέναις
 ὄλον τὸ σῶμα ἀρθρῶδες καὶ νευρῶδες

possessed *forma egregia et cui non minus auctoritatis inesset quam gratiae* (Tit. 3). This last description betrays a distinctly encomiastic touch, reminiscent of the descriptions of beauty in the romances, and likewise such phrases as *forma fuit eximia* (Aug. 79), or *auctoritas dignitasque formae non defuit ei* (Claud. 30). Similar expressions are found in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* and Ammianus Marcellinus (see appendix). But the phrases referring directly to a *σῶμα σύμμετρον* may in turn be referred to the physiognomical manuals.

¹ 30, 9, 6.

² 25, 4, 22. Cf. also 14, 11, 28 (Gallus).

³ Aug. 79: *forma fuit eximia et per omnes aetatis gradus venustissima, quamquam et omnis lenocinii negligens . . . vultu erat vel in sermone vel tacitus adeo tranquillo serenoque . . . oculos habuit claros ac nitidos, quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris, gaudebatque, si qui sibi acrius contuenti quasi ad fulgorem solis vultum summitteret; sed in senecta sinistro minus vidit; dentes raros et exiguos et scabros; capillum leviter inflexum et subflavum; supercilia coniuncta; mediocres aures; nasum et a summo eminentiorem et ab imo deductiorem; colorem inter aquilum candidumque; staturam brevem quam tamen Iulius Marathus libertus* etiam memoriam eius, quinque pedum et dodrantis fuisse tradit, sed quae commoditate et aequitate membrorum occuleretur, ut non nisi ex comparatione astantis alicuius procerioris intelligi posset.*

⁴ Pseud.-Arist. 809b. Cf. 813b; 814a.

In Polemo the picture of the man who is devoted to the study of the liberal arts is closely akin in appearance to that of a lion:¹ *sit moderata statura et erecta, albi coloris rubro mixti, capillo simplice ad flavum vergente, demisso nec tamen crispo aut horrido capillo . . . oculis humidis et charopis et laetitia perfusis*; and Suetonius tells us that Augustus from his early youth devoted himself with great diligence to the study of eloquence and the other liberal arts.² With regard to other aspects of the physique of Augustus capable of physiognomical interpretation as listed by Suetonius we may gather that the biographer was disposed to consider Augustus's character as excellent, judging from the external signs of his person.

He possessed:

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| <p>(1) <i>oculos</i> [noted above] <i>claros ac nitidos quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris, gaudebatque si quis sibi acrius contuenti quasi ad fulgorem solis vultum summitteret</i></p> <p>(2) <i>capillum leviter inflexum et subflavum</i>, which is a sign of εὐψυχία⁴</p> <p>(3) <i>supercilia coniuncta</i>, which are generally a sign of beauty⁵</p> <p>(4) <i>mediocres aures</i>, which show great vigilance in the performance of duty⁶</p> <p>(5) <i>nasum a summo eminentiorem et ab imo deductiorem</i>, which signifies a μεγαλόψυχος⁷</p> <p>(6) <i>colorem inter aquilum candidumque</i>, which is a sign of strong character.⁸</p> | <p>Compare the only surviving sentence in Greek of Polemo's work: ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ φησιν ὁ Πολέμων ὑγροί, λάμποντες ὡς λιβάδες, ἥθη χρηστὰ ἐκφαίνουσιν.³</p> |
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Suetonius's description of the emperor's life and character is in general laudatory. He exercised the most severe discipline in military affairs.⁹ He administered law with the utmost diligence and leniency.¹⁰

¹ Pol. 272.

² Aug. 84.

³ Cramer, *op. cit.*, IV, 255. Cf. Pseud.-Arist. 807b; 812b; Pol. 108; 142; 148; 248; Adamant. 305; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 51-52; II, 108; II, 121.

⁴ Pseud.-Arist. 809b; 812b; Pol. 248; 250; 272; Adamant. 386; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 22-23; II, 24; II, 92; II, 120.

⁵ Fürst, *op. cit.*, p. 387; Pseud.-Arist. 812b; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 29.

⁶ Pol. 234. Cf. Pseud.-Arist. 812a; Adamant. 380; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 65.

⁷ Pseud.-Arist. 811a; Pol. 228; 244; Adamant. 376; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 71; II, 140.

⁸ Pseud.-Arist. 812a; Pol. 244; Adamant. 386; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 106; 120.

⁹ Aug. 21.

¹⁰ *Id.*, 33.

As patron and master his behavior was mild and conciliating, but when the occasion required it, he could be severe.¹ Of his clemency there are abundant examples.² He was cautious in forming friendships but clung to them with great constancy.³ He displayed moderation in his living.⁴

If we were to turn to Caligula, we should find again a remarkable parallelism between Suetonius and the physiognomists in the estimate of the emperor's vices, for his physical appearance is especially associated with the disagreeable features of the panther and the goat.

Caligula was endowed with: ⁵

- (1) *oculis et temporibus concavis* ⁷
 (2) *corpore enormi, gracilitate maxima
 cervicis et crurum* ⁸

The panther had: ⁶

ὀφθαλμοὺς μικροὺς . . . ἐγκοίλους
 τράχηλον μακρὸν ἄγαν καὶ λεπ-
 τόν, καὶ ὄλον (τὸ σῶμα) ἄναρ-
 θρόν τε καὶ ἀσύμμετρον

The goat was of this appear-
 ance: ⁹

- (3) *capillo raro et circa verticem nullo,
 hirsutus cetera. quare transeunte
 eo prospicere ex superiore parte
 aut omnino quacumque de causa
 capram nominare criminosum et
 exitiale habebatur*

οἱ δασείας ἔχοντες τὰς κνήμας
 λάγνοι· ἀναφέρεται ἐπὶ τοὺς
 τράγους and ἀπὸ λάγνου
 σημεῖα . . . λευκόχρως καὶ
 δασὺς εἰθείαις θριξὶ καὶ παχεί-
 ας καὶ μελαίναις ¹⁰

¹ Id., 67.

² Id., 51.

³ Id., 66.

⁴ Id., 72.

⁵ Calig. 50: *statura fuit eminenti, colore expallido, corpore enormi, gracilitate maxima cervicis et crurum, oculis et temporibus concavis, fronte lata et torva, capillo raro et circa verticem nullo, hirsutus cetera. quare transeunte eo prospicere ex superiore parte, aut omnino quacumque de causa capram nominare, criminosum et exitiale habebatur. vultum vero natura horridum ac taetrum etiam ex industria efferabat, componens ad speculum in omnem terrorem ac formidinem.*

⁶ Pseud.-Arist. 809b-810a: ἡ δὲ πάρδαλις τῶν ἀνδρείων εἶναι δοκοῦντων θηλυμορφότατόν ἐστιν . . . τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μικρόν καὶ ἐπὶ κλοπὴν καὶ ὄλως εἰπεῖν δολερόν.

⁷ Pseud.-Arist. 811b; Pol. 136: *contra si oculum parvum et cavum vides, possessori eius dolum et insidias, invidiam et aemulationem tribuito*; 146; 152; 196; Adamant. 324; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 47-48; II, 135; II, 139.

⁸ Pseud.-Arist. 811a; 814a; Pol. 194; 218; 220; 270; Adamant. 358; 366-367; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 58; II, 72; II, 120.

⁹ Pseud.-Arist. 812b; Pol. 182: *capra prudens proterva libidinosa fallax lusui multum dedita malignitatis et palpitacionis multae*; 248; 252; 254; Adamant. 392; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 60; II, 92; II, 93-94; II, 117.

¹⁰ Pseud.-Arist. 808b.

(4) *colore expallido*, which is a sign of cowardice¹

(5) *fronte lata et torva*, which indicates stupidity and foolishness.²

Suetonius says that even as a very young man Caligula could not conceal his natural disposition to cruelty and shamelessness.³ It is not long before we meet such statements in Suetonius as this: "Thus far we have spoken of him as a prince. What remains to be said of him, bespeaks him rather a monster than a man."⁴ "He evinced the savage barbarity of his temper chiefly by the following indications," etc.⁵ And finally, "To this crazy constitution of his mind may, I think, very justly be ascribed two faults which he had, of a nature directly repugnant one to the other, namely an excessive confidence and the most abject timidity."⁶

The description of Tiberius in Suetonius⁷ provides the most striking example of an emperor whose physical merits and defects correspond from a physiognomical point of view to the virtues and vices of his character. Tiberius was:

(1) *corpore amplo atque robusto*, which is a sign of courage⁸

(2) *ceteris quoque usque ad imos pedes aequalis et congruens*, and of *statura quae iustam excederet*, which is indicative of a man excellent in the performance of duty, and shows a just nature⁹

¹ Pseud.-Arist. 808b; 812a; Pol. 244; Adamant. 386; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 120.

² Pseud.-Arist. 812a. Cf. Pol. 230; Adamant. 377-378; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 27; II, 29.

³ Calig. 11.

⁴ *Id.*, 22.

⁵ *Id.*, 27. Cf. 32; 34.

⁶ *Id.*, 51.

⁷ Tib. 68: *corpore fuit amplo atque robusto, statura quae iustam excederet; latus ab umeris et pectore, ceteris quoque membris usque ad imos pedes aequalis et congruens; sinistra manu agiliore ac validiore, articulis ita firmis, ut recens et integrum malum digito terebraret, caput pueri vel etiam adolescentis talitro vulneraret. colore erat candido, capillo pone occipitium summissiore ut cervicem etiam obtegeret, quod gentile in illo videbatur; facie honesta, in qua tamen crebri et subiti tumores, cum praegrandibus oculis et qui, quod mirum esset, noctu etiam et in tenebris viderent, sed ad breve et cum primum e somno paluissent; deinde rursum hebescebant. incedebat cervice rigida et obstipa, adducto fere vultu, plerumque tacitus, nullo aut rarissimo etiam cum proximis sermone eoque tardissimo, nec sine molli quadam digitorum gesticulatione. quae omnia ingrata atque arrogantiae plena et animadvertit Augustus in eo et excusare temptavit saepe apud senatum ac populum, professus naturae vitia esse, non animi.*

⁸ Pol. 268; Adamant. 408-409; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 119.

⁹ Pseud.-Arist. 813b; 814a; Adamant. 411; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 131.

- (3) *latus ab umeris et pectore, and sinistra manu agiliore ac validiore, articulis ita firmis ut recens et integrum malum digito terebraret*, which shows a robust and courageous man.¹

Suetonius declares that he performed his military campaigns with efficiency and success.² He maintained the strictest discipline among the troops,³ and exercised his power *ad utilitates publicas proniorem*.⁴ Augustus, in considering the matter of the succession and upon weighing the vices and virtues of Tiberius with each other, judged the latter to preponderate; and he swore in an assembly that "he adopted him for the public good."⁵ His behavior at first, says Suetonius, was unassuming, and he did not carry himself much above the level of a private person.⁶ He likewise introduced a show of liberty, by preserving to the senate and magistrates their former majesty and power.⁷ While he possessed marked excellence in some aspects of his physical appearance, in others he showed weakness.

- (4) *colore erat candido*, which shows a tendency to fear⁸
 (5) *praegrandibus oculis*, which are regarded by Pseudo-Aristotle and Polemo as indicative of sloth⁹ (we are told, however, of the remarkable keenness of his eyes,¹⁰ *qui, quod mirum esset, noctu etiam et in tenebris viderent sed ad breve et cum primum e somno patuissent; deinde rursum hebescebant*; to such eyes, says Polemo, *iniustitiam adiudica*¹¹)
 (6) *incedebat cervice rigida et obstipa*, which betrays *memoriae et scientiae defectum* and haughtiness¹²

¹ Pseud.-Arist. 807a; 808a; 810b; Pol. 212; 214; 268; 272; Adamant. 362; 408-409; 411; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 119; II, 131-132.

² Tib. 9; 14; 16; 17; 18.

³ Id., 19.

⁴ Id., 33.

⁵ Id., 21.

⁶ Id., 26.

⁷ Id., 30.

⁸ Pseud.-Arist. 812a. Cf. Pol. 244; Adamant. 386; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 106.

⁹ Pseud.-Arist. 811b; Pol. 108; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 138.

¹⁰ Tib. 68.

¹¹ Pol. 152. Cf. 156; 160; Adamant. 331-332; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 52.

¹² Pol. 220; 234; Adamant. 368; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 75-76; II, 99. A stiffness of the neck combined with a slow walk shows a certain haughtiness; *cervice obstipa* is not a good sign according to Polemo (222), for it shows that its possessor is not free from insanity. Pseud.-Arist. (807b) says that among the signs of the ἀναιδής are ὠμοπλάται ἄνω ἐπηρμέναι, τῷ σχήματι μὴ ὀρθὸς ἀλλὰ μικρῷ προπετέστερος . . . τὸ στῆθος ἀνеспασμένον.

- (7) *adducto fere vultu*, which is indicative of self-will as in the lion and the bull, and shows a morose disposition as well as perfidy,¹ as does also
 (8) *plerumque tacitus nullo aut rarissimo etiam cum proximis sermone eoque tardissimo nec sine molli quadam digitorum gesticulatione*. On the other hand, Pseudo-Aristotle states that among the signs of good moral character are a slow gait, and a slow way of talking.²

Suetonius's description of Tiberius's appearance does not belong to any stated period of his life. But Suetonius's account of the end of the emperor's career borders on invective. He says he was guilty of many barbarous actions, under the pretence of strictness and reformation of manners.³ After his arrival at Capri he abandoned himself to every species of cruelty, never wanting occasions of one kind or another to serve as pretext.⁴ As he carried on his cruelty, it was evident from many indications in how much fear and apprehension, as well as odium and detestation, he lived.⁵ His cruel and sullen temper appeared when he was still a boy. But his disposition showed itself still more clearly on his attaining the imperial power, and even in the beginning of his administration, when he was endeavoring to gain the popular favor by affecting moderation.⁶

In the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* the evidence for the use of the physiognomical handbook is for the most part lacking, even though there is an outward imitation of the Suetonian method of description. The reason for this lies, unless I am mistaken, in the very nature of the *Historia Augusta*;⁷ for the research of recent years has shown us that

¹ Pseud.-Arist. 811b; 812a; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 28. Cf. Pol. 156; Adamant. 378.

Suetonius remarks (*Tib.* 21): "Nor am I ignorant of its being reported by some that Augustus so openly and undisguisedly condemned the sourness of his temper, that, sometimes upon his coming in, he would break off any jocular conversation in which he was engaged."

² Pseud.-Arist. 807b. But this aspect of the physique has to be considered in relation to others. See p. 69, n. 12, above.

³ *Tib.* 59.

⁴ *Id.*, 61.

⁵ *Id.*, 63; 66; 69.

⁶ *Id.*, 57.

⁷ For an excellent summary of the problem see the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, ed. with an English translation by David Magie (Loeb Classical Library. New York, 1922-1932), I-III; esp. II, pp. vii-xxxvi. Magie gives also in the introduction of Vols. II and III a full bibliography of the work done on these imperial biographies.

these lives represent a compilation of data drawn from many sources rather than the consistent work of the several traditional authors. In the biography of Firmus, the pretender, we can detect a possible influence of the handbooks. Firmus was:

- (1) *statura ingenti*, which is a sign of sloth¹
- (2) *oculis foris eminentibus*, which is a sign of a depraved and very stupid nature²
- (3) *capillo crispo*, which is indicative of timidity and avarice³
- (4) *vultu nigriore*, which is a sign of timidity⁴
- (5) *reliqua parte corporis candidus . . . sed pilosus atque hispidus*, which shows timidity and weakness.⁵

We learn from the biography that Firmus, who tried to get control of Egypt in the period of Aurelian, was considered by Marcus Fonteius⁶ as a *latrunculus*, not a *princeps*, a characterization in keeping with the description of his physique, although Vopiscus, the author of the life, attempts to deny this fact. But he grants that before he had learned the whole story of Firmus he had been of the same opinion as Marcus Fonteius. According to Vopiscus, Firmus was *mente firmissimus*, *nervis robustissimus*. It is, therefore, hardly consistent that Vopiscus would be led to laud Firmus in this fashion were he at all guided by the theories of the physiognomists in his description of the tyrant's physique.

In Ammianus Marcellinus we find material once more pointing directly to a familiarity with the theories of the physiognomists. The influence of Tacitus on this writer is apparent in descriptions of the second type defined at the beginning of this article. But the Suetonian *schemata* have left their mark. Of his history, which purported to be a continuation of the work of Tacitus, only the books dealing with

¹ Pseud.-Arist. 813b; Vopisc. *Firmus*, 4: *fuit tamen Firmus statura ingenti, oculis foris eminentibus, capillo crispo, fronte vulnerata, vultu nigriore, reliqua parte corporis candidus sed pilosus atque hispidus, ita ut eum plerique Cyclopem vocarent*. Cf. also in appendix B the descriptions of Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus.

² Pseud.-Arist. 811b; Pol. 142; Adamant. 325; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 49.

³ Pseud.-Arist. 812b; Pol. 248; Adamant. 392; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 22-23; II, 92.

⁴ Pseud.-Arist. 812a; Pol. 244; Adamant. 386; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 106.

⁵ Pseud.-Arist. 812b; Pol. 254; Adamant. 392; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 93-94.

⁶ *Firmus*, 2; 4.

the reigns of Constantius, Julian, Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens survive today. Adamantius of Alexandria, the sophist, was writing in this same period — the fourth century — his book on physiognomy, strongly under the influence of the little manuals attributed to Aristotle and Loxus, and especially that of Polemo, of whose handbook he calls his own a paraphrase. He is probably to be identified with the Adamantius mentioned several times by Oribasius, Julian's physician, in his own epitome of his *Ἱατρικαὶ συναγωγαί*.¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, a native of Antioch, was undoubtedly a younger contemporary of this man. We know from Ammianus's own statement that the doctrines of physiognomy were familiar to him, for he thus describes Julian when he was created Caesar by Constantius:²

Cuius (Iuliani) oculos cum venustate terribiles vultumque excitatus gratum, diu multumque contuentes, qui futurus sit colligebant (sc. homines) velut scrutatis veteribus libris quorum lectio per corporum signa pandit animarum interna.

Furthermore, since he took part in an expedition against the Persians under the leadership of Julian, he had the opportunity of studying both the emperor and the people at first hand. Asmus³ has already convincingly demonstrated how the description of Julian by Gregory of Nazianzus in an invective of the church father against the emperor is readily capable of physiognomical interpretation. It remains for us to observe the portrait of Julian in Ammianus. So far is the historian from inveighing against his especial hero that he endows him with a host of virtues:⁴ *temperantia, prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo, auctoritas, felicitas, liberalitas*, — *vir profecto heroicis connumerandus ingeniis*. He praises his character, and no less his personal appearance.⁵

¹ Förster, *Script. Physiog.* I, Proleg. pp. c-cix.

² 15, 8, 16. Cf. 17, 11, 4. See appendix B for the Persians.

³ R. Asmus, "Vergessene Physiognomonika," in *Philologus*, LXV (1906), pp. 410-415. Gregory was a great admirer of Polemo of Laodicea.

⁴ 25, 4. His faults were but few. He was of an unsteady disposition, but he corrected this fault by allowing people to set him right when he was guilty of indiscretion. He was very fond of applause, and an immoderate seeker after praise (25, 4, 16 ff.).

⁵ 25, 4, 22: *figura talis utique membrorum. mediocris erat staturae, capillis tamquam pexisset mollibus, hirsuta barba, in acutum desinente vestitus, venustate oculorum*

Julian was:

- (1) *mediocris staturae*, which indicates a φύσις πρὸς τὰς αἰσθήσεις κρατίστη καὶ τελεστικωτάτη . . . ὥστε τὸν τελεώτατον πρὸς τὸ ἐπιτελεῖν τε ἂν αὖν προθῇται καὶ αἰσθάνεσθαι μέλλοντα μέτριον δεῖ εἶναι τὸ μέγεθος¹
- (2) *ab ipso capite usque unguium summitates liniamentorum recta conpage*, which is a sign of a good and just character²
- (3) *venustate oculorum micantium flagrans, qui mentis eius angustias indicabant*, which is a sign of a cogitator magnarum rerum³
- (4) *ore paulo maiore labro inferiore demisso*, which is like the mouth of a lion, and one must attribute to its possessor daring and all the other qualities of character associated with the lion (a protruding lower lip indicates a tendency to vanity⁴)
- (5) *naso erectissimo*, which is a sign of much vigor and thoughtfulness⁵ (Adamantius also tells us that ἰθύτης ῥινὸς γλώττης ἀκράτειαν κατηγορεῖ,⁶ and Ammianus makes this comment on Julian:⁷ *linguae fusioris et admodum raro silentis*)
- (6) *umeris vastis et latis*, which is a sign of fortitude⁸
- (7) *opima et incurva cervice* (although this may be regarded as indicative of affectation,⁹ and is generally a very unfavorable sign, a thick neck also is a sign of fierce temper, as in bulls¹⁰).

micantium flagrans, qui mentis eius angustias indicabant, superciliis decoris et naso rectissimo, ore paulo maiore, labro inferiore demisso, opima et incurva cervice, umeris vastis et latis, ab ipso capite usque unguium summitates liniamentorum recta conpage, unde viribus valebat et cursu.

¹ Pseud.-Arist. 813b.

² Pseud.-Arist. 813b; Pol. 268; Adamant. 408-409; 411; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 119-120.

³ Pol. 148; Adamant. 328; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 50. Cf. Pseud.-Arist. 807b; Pol. 144; Cramer, *Anec. Graec.* IV, 255; Adamant. 305.

⁴ Pol. 224; 226; Adamant. 374; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 67. See p. 72, n. 4.

⁵ Pol. 228; Adamant. 376; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 70-71.

⁶ Adamant. 376.

⁷ 25, 4, 17.

⁸ Pseud.-Arist. 807a; 808a; 810b; Pol. 214; 268; Adamant. 364; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 78; II, 119. Cf. Amm. Marc. 22, 14, 3: *ridebatur . . . ut homo brevis humeros extentans angustos*. See Pseud.-Arist. 813a; Pol. 262; Adamant. 400: ὁ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὤμοις ὑποκινούμενος . . . αὐθάδης τε καὶ ἀπιθής καὶ ὑβριστής; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 100.

⁹ Pol. 258; Adamant. 367.

¹⁰ Pseud.-Arist. 811a; Adamant. 366; 370. Cf. Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 72.

Finally, like Augustus, Julian may be compared with the lion.¹ Not in this Julian do we find the unpleasant physical features that characterize the invective of Gregory.²

With the portrait of Julian we come to the end of a survey of the descriptions of personal appearance in Roman history and biography and of a consideration of their significance as a device of characterization. Our conclusion may fairly be, I think, that the handbooks on physiognomy enjoyed in reality a far greater popularity with the writers of the Roman Empire than has been granted to them. It is a noteworthy fact that the most important extant work in the field after that attributed to Aristotle is the manual composed by a rhetor, Polemo. Undoubtedly several influences contributed as formative elements to the type of the *imagines* that we find in Suetonius, the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, and Ammianus Marcellinus, but not least among them were the laws for the interpretation of character from personal appearance which the physiognomists had carefully laid down.

¹ Pseud.-Arist. 809b: στόμα εὐμέγεθες, ὤμους ῥωμαλέους. See p. 65.

² Or. 5, 23 (ed. of the Benedictines of Saint-Maur, *S. Gregorii Theologi vulgo Nazianzeni Opera omnia* (Paris, 1778), p. 161).

APPENDIX A

This appendix includes noteworthy examples of the descriptions of the first and second type found in the Roman historians and biographers. I have included in these lists citations from Cicero's orations, from Pliny's panegyric on Trajan, from the later writers of panegyrics, and from Valerius Maximus. The lists are necessarily condensed. For a more detailed classification of the examples see my unpublished dissertation, *Quomodo Corpora Voltusque Hominum Auctores Latini descripserint*, deposited in the archives of the Radcliffe College Library. No attempt is made to include here general descriptions of personal appearance of the first type, which are not definitely linked by the authors with qualities of character.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE FIRST TYPE, SHOWING CHARACTERIZATION OF AN INDIVIDUAL

Bellum Alexandrinum: 44.

Nepos: 15, 3; 17, 8; 18, 11; 21, 1; 22, 3.

Sallust: *Cat.* 5; 15; *Iug.* 6; 28.

Cicero: *Caecin.* 27; *Cat.* 2, 22; *Rab. Perd.* 21; *Rosc. Am.* 135; *Vatin.* 4.

Livy: 3, 11; 4, 19; 7, 9; 7, 10; 9, 16; 28, 17; 30, 1; 42, 11.

Q. Curtius Rufus: 3, 11; 4, 13; 7, 4; 7, 9; 7, 11; 8, 13; 9, 10; 10, 3.

Velleius Paterculus: 2, 29; 2, 41; 2, 75; 2, 94; 2, 97; 2, 107; 2, 108; 2, 117.

Valerius Maximus: 1, 7, Ext. 4; 5, 1, 3; 5, 4, Ext. 7; 5, 8, 5; 5, 10, 2; 6, 1, 1; 6, 9, 14; 6, 9, Ext. 4; 7, 1, 1; 7, 3, 6; 8, 3, 1; 9, 2, 2; 9, 2, Ext. 5.

Tacitus: *Ann.* 1, 10; 2, 4; 2, 21; 2, 41; 2, 73; 6, 21; 11, 16; 12, 4; 12, 44; 12, 49; 12, 64; 13, 45; 15, 48; 15, 59; 15, 72; 16, 6; 16, 15; *Hist.* 1, 7; 1, 9; 1, 53; 2, 5; 2, 30; 4, 13.

Florus: 1, 13, 4; 2, 14, 3.

Justin: 1, 10, 13; 12, 8, 1-2; 12, 12, 11-12; 13, 1, 10-11; 23, 4, 14-15; 36, 2, 11; 38, 8, 9.

Aurelius Victor: 17, 5; 39, 1.

Epitome de Caesaribus: 1, 20; 10, 2; 15, 4; 40, 15; 42, 6; 44, 4.

Eutropius: 10, 7.

Scriptores Historiae Augustae: *Ael.* 5; *Aurel.* 6; *Max. et Balb.* (Balbinus), 7; *Tyr. trig.* (Celsus), 29; *Ant. Geta*, 4; *Gord. tres* (Gordian 2), 18; (Gordian 3), 31; *Maxim. duo* (Maximinus 1), 2, 6; *Ant. Pius*, 2, 13; *Val. duo* (Valerian 2), 8.

Ammianus Marcellinus: 17, 13, 24; 18, 6, 7; 21, 6, 4; 27, 10, 3.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE SECOND TYPE, SHOWING CHARACTERIZATION OF THE PERMANENT APPEARANCE OF AN INDIVIDUAL

Caesar: *B. G.* 5, 14.

Nepos: 7, 1; 10, 1; 11, 3; 25, 1; 25, 22.

Sallust: *Cat.* 15 (see reference under first type).

Cicero: *Balb.* 58; *Div. in Caecil.* 46; *Cael.* 6; *Cat.* 1, 32; *Dom.* 3; 101; *Marcell.* 10; *Mil.* 92; *Planc.* 34; *Vatin.* 8; *Verr. Act. prim.* 21.

Livy: 24, 5; 39, 40.

Velleius Paterculus: 2, 118; 2, 127.

Valerius Maximus: 2, 10, 8.

Tacitus: *Ann.* 2, 13; 2, 14; 2, 72; 11, 28; 13, 19; 16, 32; *Hist.* 1, 14; 1, 22; 1, 39; 2, 1; 4, 62; 5, 14; 5, 18; *Agr.* 11; *Germ.* 4; 30.

Pliny: *Paneg.* 4, 7; 22, 2; 24, 2; 48, 4; 55, 11; 61, 2.

Florus: 3, 10, 20.

Justin: 5, 2, 6.

Eutropius: 8, 11; 9, 27; 10, 5.

Epitome de Caesaribus: 3, 5; 16, 7; 18, 6; 21, 4; 45, 5; 48, 8.

Scriptores Historiae Augustae: *Sev. Alex.* 4, 14; *Marc. Anton.* 16; *Anton. Carac.* 2; *Max. et Balb.* (Maximus), 6; *Opil. Macrin.* 2.

Ammianus Marcellinus: 14, 6, 10; 21, 6, 9; 26, 6, 7; 27, 6, 15; 28, 1, 45; 29, 3, 2; 30, 4, 11.

Panegyrici Latini: 2, 6, 2; 3, 5, 3; 4, 5, 4; 4, 34, 4; 5, 9, 3; 6, 4, 2-4; 6, 17, 1; 7, 6, 4; 7, 9, 5; 8, 19, 3; 12, 7, 5; 12, 17, 1; 12, 19, 6.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE *SECOND TYPE* SHOWING CHARACTERIZATION OF THE MOMENTARY APPEARANCE OF AN INDIVIDUAL

Caesar: *B. G.* 1, 39; *B. C.* 1, 19.

Bellum Africum: 10.

Nepos: 14, 4.

Sallust: *Cat.* 31; 61; *Iug.* 113.

Cicero: *Brut.* 141; 158; 203; 227; 235; 238; 239; 240; 261; 265; 272; 278; 303; *Phil.* 2, 63; 11, 7; 13, 4; *Balb.* 49; *Cael.* 14; 49; *Cat.* 1, 13; 1, 17; 2, 18; 3, 13; *Clu.* 29; 54; 72; *Deiot.* 5; *Dom.* 26; 133; *Har. Resp.* 2; *Leg. agr.* 2, 13; *Mil.* 33; 61; *Mur.* 44; 49; *Pis.* 1; 11; 12; 14; 20; 24-25; 68; 99; *Prov. cons.* 8; 12; *Quinct.* 97; *Rab. Post.* 35; *Post Red. in Sen.* 12; 13; 15; *Rosc. Com.* 20; *Sest.* 19-20; 22; 28; 106; *Sull.* 15; *Verr. Act. sec.* 1, 141; 2, 108; 3, 5; 3, 23; 4, 148; 5, 161.

Livy: 2, 10; 2, 23; 2, 58; 2, 61; 5, 44; 5, 46; 6, 13; 7, 5; 7, 10; 7, 33; 8, 9; 9, 2; 9, 5; 9, 6 (bis); 9, 7; 9, 8; 10, 28; 21, 2; 21, 4; 22, 7; 22, 46; 23, 9; 27, 34; 27, 48; 29, 17; 30, 14-15; 30, 44; 33, 48; 34, 47; 38, 21; 39, 12; 39, 34; 40, 5; 40, 8; 44, 36; 44, 45; 45, 10; 45, 40.

Q. Curtius Rufus: 3, 6; 4, 6; 4, 10; 4, 13; 5, 4; 5, 9; 5, 11; 6, 1; 6, 5; 6, 7; 6, 8; 6, 9; 6, 11; 7, 2; 7, 5; 7, 7; 7, 8; 7, 9; 7, 10; 7, 11; 8, 4; 8, 6; 8, 12; 9, 3; 9, 5; 9, 7; 10, 3; 10, 5; 10, 8; 10, 9; 10, 10.

Velleius Paterculus: 2, 27; 2, 100.

Valerius Maximus: 1, 5, 3; 1, 6, 9; 1, 8, 8; 2, 6, 14; 2, 7, 6; 3, 1, Ext. 1; 3, 1, 2; 3, 2, 7; 3, 2, 24; 3, 3, Ext. 7; 3, 8, 6; 3, 8, Ext. 1; 4, 1, 12; 4, 1, 13; 4, 1, Ext. 2; 4, 3, 5; 4, 6, 3; 5, 1, 1; 5, 1, Ext. 6; 5, 7, Ext. 1; 5, 7, Ext. 2; 5, 10, 1; 5, 10, Ext. 1; 5, 10, Ext. 2; 6, 1, 7; 6, 2, 4; 6, 2, 7; 6, 3, 10; 6, 4, 3; 6, 8, 6; 6, 9, 11; 6, 9, Ext. 1; 6, 9, Ext. 2; 6, 9, Ext. 5; 7, 2, Ext. 1; 7, 2, Ext. 2; 7, 3, Ext. 9; 7, 8, 2; 7, 8, 9; 8, 1, 3; 8, 2, 2; 8, 7, 1; 8, 7, Ext. 2; 8, 7, Ext. 7; 8, 8, Ext. 1; 8, 10, 3; 8, 10, Ext. 1.

Tacitus: *Ann.* 1, 3; 1, 7; 1, 24; 1, 42; 2, 33; 2, 53; 3, 1; 3, 9; 3, 16; 3, 53; 4, 28; 5, 7; 6, 24; 6, 46; 12, 18; 12, 36; 13, 16; 13, 20; 13, 40; 14, 16; 15, 36; 15, 55; 15, 61; 15, 72; 16, 4; 16, 5; 16, 24; 16, 29; 16, 34; *Hist.* 1, 17; 1, 45; 1, 81; 1, 82; 2, 9; 2, 46; 2, 48; 2, 52; 2, 65; 2, 70; 2, 99; 3, 3; 3, 10; 3, 56; 3, 58; 3, 65; 3, 74; 4, 2; 4, 11; 4, 31; 4, 40; 4, 43; 4, 72; 4, 81; 4, 85; *Agr.* 39, 45.

Pliny: *Paneg.* 22, 6; 41, 3; 54, 1; 67, 1; 73, 1; 73, 3-4; 75, 6.

Florus: 4, 2, 81; 4, 12, 7.

Justin: 1, 3, 1-2; 1, 5, 3; 11, 8, 8-9; 18, 4, 9; 24, 2, 10; 44, 2, 1.

Aurelius Victor: 3, 10.

De Viris illustribus: 67; 76.

Epitome de Caesaribus: 8, 4; 12, 2; 28, 3.

Scriptores Historiae Augustae: *Sev. Alex.* 17, 29; *Max. et Balb.* 1.

Ammianus Marcellinus: 14, 5, 6; 14, 7, 13; 14, 11, 22; 15, 7, 4; 16, 10, 10; 16, 12, 36; 17, 10, 3; 17, 13, 3; 19, 9, 9; 21, 13, 9; 26, 6, 15; 26, 9, 5; 26, 9, 9; 28, 4, 23; 29, 2, 23; 29, 5, 15; 29, 5, 46; 30, 1, 20; 30, 4, 13; 30, 4, 19; 30, 5, 19; 30, 8, 11; 31, 13, 4; 31, 13, 10.

Panegyrici Latini: 2, 44, 2; 3, 6, 4; 3, 29, 2; 4, 14, 2; 4, 18, 4; 4, 22, 4; 11, 12, 4.

APPENDIX B

This appendix includes the iconistic descriptions from Suetonius, the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, and Ammianus Marcellinus, together with citations from the handbooks on physiognomy significant at each point, and references in Arabic numerals to important chapters from the respective authors inserted for the purpose of comparison. The lists are abridged from their original form. No attempt is made here to include references to relevant descriptions in authors other than those under consideration. For such references see H. V. Canter, *Personal Appearance in the Biography of the Roman Emperors*, cited on page 43, n. 4. In the case of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* as many references as possible to the physiognomical handbooks are made, even though in many cases the parallelisms are not striking.

SUETONIUS

JULIUS CAESAR. 45: *fuisse traditur excelsa statura*,¹ *colore candido*,² *teretibus membris*,³ *ore paulo pleniore*,⁴ *nigris vegetisque oculis*,⁵ *valitudine prospera, nisi quod tempore extremo repente animo linqui atque etiam per somnum exterreri solebat . . . ut calvitii vero deformitatem iniquissime ferret, saepe obrectatorum iocis obnoxiam expertus.*

(1). Pseud.-Arist. 813b; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 4, 7, 1123b. Cf. 43; 75.

(2). Pseud.-Arist. 812a; Pol. 244; Adamant. 386; Anon. *Physiog. Lat.* II, 10; II, 106.

(3). Pol. 216; Adamant. 361; Anon. *Physiog. Lat.* II, 86.

(4). Pseud.-Arist. 811b; Pol. 232; Adamant. 379; Anon. *Physiog. Lat.* II, 69. Cf. 20; 76. See on this point M. E. Deutsch, "Concerning Caesar's Appearance," in *Classical Journal*, XII (1917), p. 248, and Pseud.-Arist. 809b; Pol. 224; Adamant. 373; Anon. *Physiog. Lat.* II, 66.

(5). Pseud.-Arist. 807b; 812b; 813a; Pol. 116; 124; 142; 146; 148; 246; 248; Adamant. 310-311; 331; 390-391; Anon. *Physiog. Lat.* II, 41; II, 50. Cf. 43; 54; 56; 58; 63; 71; 72.

AUGUSTUS. See text.

TIBERIUS. See text.

CALIGULA. See text.

CLAUDIUS. 30: *auctoritas dignitasque formae non defuit ei, verum stanti vel sedenti ac praecipue quiescenti, nam et prolixo nec exili corpore*¹ *erat, et specie canitieque pulchra, opimis cervicibus;*² *ceterum et ingredientem destituebant poplites minus firmi,*³ *et remissee quid vel serio agentem multa dehonestabant: risus indecens,*⁴ *ira turpior spumante rictu, umentibus naribus,*⁵ *praeterea linguae titubantia, caputque cum semper tum in quantulocumque actu vel maxime tremulum.*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 813b; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 4, 7, 1123b. Cf. 15.
- (2). Pseud.-Arist. 807b; 811a; Pol. 220; Adamant. 366-367; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 72; II, 121. Cf. 3; 4; 35; 36; 38; 39.
- (3). Pseud.-Arist. 813a; Pol. 204; Adamant. 358; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 89. Cf. 33; 34.
- (4). Pol. 148; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 52; II, 54. Cf. 34 (above).
- (5). Miller, *Mélanges*, p. 421. Cf. 38 (above).

NERO. 51: *statura fuit prope iusta,*¹ *corpore maculoso et fetido,*² *subflavo capillo,*³ *vultu pulchro magis quam venusto, oculis caesis et hebetioribus,*⁴ *cervice obesa,*⁵ *ventre proiecto,*⁶ *gracillimis cruribus,*⁷ *valitudine prospera.*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 813b. Cf. 10; 16; 19.
- (2). Pseud.-Arist. 809b-810a. Cf. 26.
- (3). Pseud.-Arist. 809b; Pol. 250; Adamant. 393; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 24; II, 120. Cf. 22.
- (4). Pseud.-Arist. 807b; 808a; 812b; Pol. 122; 142; 246; 270; Adamant. 313; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 39; II, 121. Cf. 37; 43.
- (5). Pseud.-Arist. 807b; 811a; Pol. 218; 220; Adamant. 366-367; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 72; II, 121. Cf. 42.
- (6). Pol. 210; Adamant. 361; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 85.
- (7). Pseud.-Arist. 807b; 810a; Pol. 194; 270; Adamant. 358; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 120; II, 133. Cf. 27.

GALBA. 21: *statura fuit iusta,*¹ *capite praecalvo, oculis caeruleis,*² *adunco naso,*³ *manibus pedibusque articulari morbo distortissimis, ut neque calceum perpeti neque libellos evolvere aut tenere omnino valeret.*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 813b.
- (2). Pol. 112; 116; 118; Adamant. 312-313; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 39. Cf. 9; 12.
- (3). Pseud.-Arist. 811a; Pol. 228; Adamant. 376; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 71; II, 140. Cf. 14.

OTHO. 12: *tanto Othonis animo nequaquam corpus aut habitus competit. fuisse enim et modicae staturae*¹ *et male pedatus scambusque*² *traditur, munditiarum vero paene muliebrium, vulso corpore, galericulo capiti propter raritatem capillorum adaptato et adnexo, ut nemo dinosceret.*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 813b; but cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 4, 7, 1123b. Cf. 8; 9.
- (2). Pseud.-Arist. 810a; Pol. 204; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 115?

VITELLIUS. 17: *erat enim in eo enormis proceritas,¹ facies rubida plerumque ex vinulentia,² venter obesus,³ alterum femur subdebile impulsu olim quadrigae, cum auriganti Gaio ministratorem exhiberet.*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 813b; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 4, 7, 1123b.
- (2). Anon. *Physiog.* Lat. II, 108. Cf. 4.
- (3). Pol. 210; Adamant. 361; Anon. *Physiog.* Lat. II, 85.

VESPASIAN. 20: *statura fuit quadrata, compactis firmisque membris,¹ vultu veluti nitentis.*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 814a; Adamant. 408-409; 411; Anon. *Physiog.* Lat. II, 131; Cels. 2, 1. Cf. 12; 14; 15; 16.

TITUS. 3: *in puero statim corporis animique dotes explenduerunt, magisque ac magis deinceps per aetatis gradus: forma egregia et cui non minus auctoritatis inesset quam gratiae, praecipuum robur, quamquam neque procera statura et ventre paulo projectiore;¹ memoria singularis, docilitas ad omnis fere tum belli tum pacis artes.*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 810b; 813b; Adamant. 361; 411; Anon. *Physiog.* Lat. II, 85. Cf. 7; 8.

DOMITIAN. 18: *statura fuit procera,¹ vultu modesto ruborisque pleno,² grandibus oculis,³ verum acie hebetiore;⁴ praeterea pulcher ac decens, maxime in iuventa, et quidem toto corpore,¹ exceptis pedibus, quorum digitos restrictiores¹ habebat; postea calvitio quoque deformis et obesitate ventris et crurum gracilitate,⁵ quae tamen ei valitudine longa remacruerant.*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 810a; 813b; 814a; Pol. 200; Adamant. 354-355; Anon. *Physiog.* Lat. II, 82; II, 115. Cf. 8; 9; 10; 11; 14.
- (2). Pseud.-Arist. 812a; Pol. 246; Adamant. 386-387; Anon. *Physiog.* Lat. II, 108.
- (3). Pseud.-Arist. 811b; Pol. 114; 144; Adamant. 311; Anon. *Physiog.* Lat. II, 138. Cf. 19; 22.
- (4). Pol. 136; Anon. *Physiog.* Lat. II, 121.
- (5). Pol. 210; Adamant. 358; 361; Anon. *Physiog.* Lat. II, 85; II, 120; II, 133.

TERENCE. 5: *fuisse dicitur mediocri statura,¹ gracili corpore,² colore fusco.³*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 813b.
- (2). Pseud.-Arist. 813b; Anon. *Physiog.* Lat. II, 142.
- (3). Pseud.-Arist. 812a; Pol. 244; Adamant. 386-387; Anon. *Physiog.* Lat. II, 106.

HORACE. *habitu corporis fuit brevis atque obesus,¹ qualis et a semet ipso in saturis describitur et ab Augusto hac epistula. . . . vereri autem mihi videris ne maiores libelli tui sint, quam ipse es; sed tibi statura deest, corpusculum non deest.*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 813b.

SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE

Aelius Spartianus. HADRIAN. 26: *statura fuit procerus,¹ forma comptus, flexo ad pectinem capillo, promissa barba, ut vulnera, quae in facie naturalia erant, tegeret, habitudine robusta.*

(1). Pseud.-Arist. 813b; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 4, 7, 1123b.

Julius Capitolinus. VERUS. 10: *fuit decorus corpore, vultu geniatu, barba prope barbarice demissa, procerus¹ et fronte in supercilia adductiore² venerabilis. Dicitur sane tantam habuisse curam flamentum capillorum,³ ut capiti auri ramenta respergeret, quo magis coma inluminata flavesceret.*

(1). Pseud.-Arist. 813b; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 4, 7, 1123b.

(2). Pol. 230; Anon. *Physiog. Lat.* II, 28; II, 53.

(3). Pol. 250; Adamant. 393; Anon. *Physiog. Lat.* II, 24; II, 120. Cf. 2.

Aelius Lampridius. COMMODUS ANTONINUS. 17: *fuit forma quidem corporis iusta, vultu insubido, ut ebriosi solent, et sermone incondito, capillo semper fucato et auri ramentis inluminato, adurens comam et barbam timore tonsoris.*

Julius Capitolinus. PERTINAX. 12: *fuit autem senex venerabilis, inmissa barba, reflexo capillo, habitudine corporis pinguiore, ventre prominulo,¹ statura imperatoria.*

(1). Pol. 210; Adamant. 361; Anon. *Physiog. Lat.* II, 85. Cf. 12; 13.

Aelius Spartianus. SEVERUS. 19: *ipse decorus, ingens,¹ promissa barba, cano capite et crispo,² vultu reverendus, canorus voce, sed Afrum quiddam usque ad senectulem sonans.*

(1). Pseud.-Arist. 813b; 814a; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 4, 7, 1123b.

(2). Pseud.-Arist. 812b; Pol. 248; Adamant. 392; Anon. *Physiog. Lat.* II, 22-23; II, 92; II, 120.

Aelius Spartianus. PESCENNIUS NIGER. 6: *fuit statura prolixa, forma decorus,¹ capillo in verticem ad gratiam reflexo, vocis canorae² ita ut in campo loquens per mille passus audiretur, nisi ventus adversaretur, oris verecundi et semper rubidi,³ cervice adeo nigra, ut, quemadmodum multi dicunt, ab ea Nigri nomen acceperit, cetera corporis parte candidus et magis pinguis⁴ . . .*

(1). Pseud.-Arist. 813b; 814a; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 4, 7, 1123b.

(2). Pol. 266; Anon. *Physiog. Lat.* II, 120. Cf. 6.

(3). Pseud.-Arist. 812a; Pol. 246; Adamant. 389; Anon. *Physiog. Lat.* II, 108.

(4). Pseud.-Arist. 812a; Pol. 244; Adamant. 386-387; Anon. *Physiog. Lat.* II, 106. Cf. 1; 5.

Julius Capitolinus. CLODIUS ALBINUS. 13: *fuit statura procerus,¹ capillo renodi et crispo,² fronte lata,³ candore mirabili,⁴ ita ut plerique putent, quod ex eo nomen acceperit, voce muliebri et prope ad eunuchorum sonum, motu facili.⁵*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 813b. Cf. 5; 11.
- (2). Pseud.-Arist. 812b; Pol. 248; Adamant. 392; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 22-23; II, 92; II, 120. Cf. 13.
- (3). Pseud.-Arist. 811b; Pol. 230; Adamant. 377; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 27.
- (4). Pseud.-Arist. 812a; Pol. 244; Adamant. 386; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 106.
- (5). Pseud.-Arist. 813b; Pol. 266; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 58.

Aelius Lampridius. ANTONINUS DIADUMENUS. 3: *puer fuit omnium speciosissimus, statura longiuscula,¹ crine flavo,² nigris oculis,³ naso deducto,⁴ ad omnem decorem mento composito, ore ad oscula parato, fortis naturaliter, exercitio delicatior.*

- (1). Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 4, 7, 1123b. Cf. Fürst, *Die Personalbeschreib. im Diktyosber.*, p. 432, on height as a sign of beauty.
- (2). Pol. 250; Adamant. 393; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 24; II, 120.
- (3). Pseud.-Arist. 812b; Pol. 146; 148; 246; Adamant. 390; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 41.
- (4). Pseud.-Arist. 811a; Adamant. 376; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 71. Cf. 8.

Julius Capitolinus. GORDIAN I. 6: *et erat quidem longitudine Romana.¹ canitie decora et pompali vultu, ruber magis quam candidus,² facie bene lata,³ oculis, ore, fronte verendus, corporis qualitate subcrassulus.*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 813b; 814a; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 4, 7, 1123b. Cf. 3.
- (2). Pseud.-Arist. 812a; Pol. 244; Adamant. 386-387; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 107.
- (3). Pseud.-Arist. 811b; Pol. 232; 278; Adamant. 379; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 69. Cf. 6.

Trebellius Pollio. TYRANNI TRIGINTA. ZENOBIA. 30: *fuit vultu subaquilo, fusci coloris,¹ oculis supra modum vigentibus nigris,² spiritus divini, venustatis incredibilis. tantus candor in dentibus ut margaritas eam plerique putarent habere non dentes. vox clara et virilis.*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 812a; Pol. 244; Adamant. 386-387; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 106. Cf. 30.
- (2). Pseud.-Arist. 812b; 813a; Pol. 108; 124; 142; 148; 246; Adamant. 331; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 102.

Trebellius Pollio. CLAUDIUS. 13: *statura procerus,¹ oculis ardentibus,² lato et pleno vultu,³ digitis usque adeo fortibus,⁴ ut saepe equis et mulis ictu pugni dentes excusserit.*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 813b; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 4, 7, 1123b. Cf. 13.
- (2). Pseud.-Arist. 807b; 812b; Pol. 108; 142; 148. Cf. Cramer, *Anec. Graec.* IV, 255; Adamant. 331; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 52. Cf. 2.
- (3). Pseud.-Arist. 811b; Pol. 232; 278; Adamant. 379; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 69.
- (4). Pseud.-Arist. 807a; 808a. Cf. Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 119.

Flavius Vopiscus. FIRMUS. See text.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

GALLUS. 14, 11, 28: *fuit autem forma conspicuus bona, decente filo corporis membrorumque recta conpage,¹ flavo capillo et molli,² barba licet recens emergente lanugine tenera, ita tamen ut maturius auctoritas emineret, tantum a temperatis moribus Iuliani differens fratris, quantum inter Vespasiani filios fuit Domitianum et Titum.*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 809b; 814a; Pol. 268; Adamant. 408-409; 411; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 131. Cf. 14, 11, 3; 14, 11, 28.
- (2). Pseud.-Arist. 806b; Pol. 248; 250; Adamant. 393; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 23; II, 24; II, 120.

CONSTANTIUS. 21, 16, 19: *figura tali situque membrorum: subniger,¹ luce oculorum edita,² cernensque acutum,³ molli capillo,⁴ rasis adsidue genis lucetibus ad decorem, ad usque pubem ab ipsis colli confiniis longior, brevissimis cruribus et incurvis,⁵ unde saltu valebat et cursu.*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 812b; Pol. 244; Adamant. 386; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 106. Cf. 21, 16, 8.
- (2). Adamant. 325. Cf. 21, 16, 4.
- (3). Pol. 160; Adamant. 409; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 52. Cf. 21, 16, 5.
- (4). Pseud.-Arist. 806b; Pol. 248; Adamant. 393; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 22; II, 92. Cf. 14, 5, 2.
- (5). Pol. 204; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 115; II, 140. Cf. 14, 11, 4.

JULIAN. See text.

JOVIAN. 25, 10, 14: *incedebat autem motu corporis gravi,¹ vultu laetissimo, oculis caesiis,² vasta proceritate et ardua,³ adeo ut diu nullum indumentum regium ad mensuram eius aptum inveniretur.*

- (1). Pol. 22; Adamant. 399; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 99.
- (2). Pseud.-Arist. 812b; Pol. 142; 246; Adamant. 312-313; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 39.
- (3). Pseud.-Arist. 813a-813b.

PROCOPIUS. 26, 9, 11: *corpore non indecoro nec mediocris staturae,¹ subcurvus humumque intuenso semper incedens.²*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 813b. Cf. 26, 9, 11.
- (2). Pseud.-Arist. 807b; 810b.

VALENTINIAN. 30, 9, 6: *corpus eius lacertosum et validum, capilli fulgor colorisque nitor,¹ cum oculis caesiis semper obliquum intuentis et torvum,² atque pulchritudo staturae liniamentorumque recta conpago maiestatis regiae decus implebat.³*

- (1). Pol. 244; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 106. Cf. 30, 9, 2-4.
- (2). Pseud.-Arist. 807b; 813a; Pol. 142; 246; Adamant. 312-313; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 39.
- (3). Pseud.-Arist. 814a; Pol. 268; Adamant. 408-409; 411; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 131. Cf. 30, 9, 1.

VALENS. 31, 14, 7: *cessator et piger: ignei coloris,¹ pupula oculi unius obstructa, sed ita ut non minus appareat, figura bene compacta membrorum, staturae nec procerae nec humilis,² incurvis cruribus³ extanteque mediocriter ventre.⁴*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 812a; Pol. 244; Adamant. 386-387; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 106-107.
- (2). Pseud.-Arist. 809b; 813b; 814a; Arist. *Elh. Nic.* 4, 3, 1123b; Adamant. 408-409; 411; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 131. Cf. 31, 4, 2.
- (3). Pseud.-Arist. 810a; Pol. 204; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 115. Cf. 31, 14, 5.
- (4). Pol. 210; Adamant. 361; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 85.

GAULS. 15, 12, 1: *celsioris staturae et candidi paene Galli sunt omnes et rutili¹ luminumque torvitae terribiles,² avidi iurgiorum et sublatius insolentes. nec enim eorum quemquam adhibita uxore rixantem, multo fortiore et glauca, peregrinorum ferre poterit globus, tum maxime cum illa inflata cervice suffrendens, etc.*

- (1). Pol. 238; 244; 250; Adamant. 386-387; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 106.
- (2). Pol. 142; 148; 248; Adamant. 409; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 52-53. Cf. 15, 12, 2-3.

EGYPTIANS. 22, 16, 23: *homines autem Aegyptii plerique subfusculi¹ sunt et atrati magisque maestiores, gracilenti et aridi,² ad singulos motus excandescentes, controversi et reposcenes acerrimi.*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 812a; Pol. 236; 244; Adamant. 386; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 107; II, 120.
- (2). Pseud.-Arist. 813b; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 142.

PERSIANS. 23, 6, 75: *sed ne generaliter corpora describamus et mores, graciles paene sunt omnes,¹ subnigri vel livido colore pallentes,² caprinis oculis torvi³ et superciliis in semiorbium speciem curvatis iunctisque,⁴ non indecoribus barbis capillisque promissis hirsuti, omnes tamen promisce vel inter epulas festosque dies gladiis cincti cernuntur.*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 813b; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 142.
- (2). Pseud.-Arist. 812a; Pol. 244; Adamant. 386; 387; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 106; II, 107; II, 120. Cf. 23, 6, 80.
- (3). Pseud.-Arist. 812b; Pol. 182; 248; Adamant. 409; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 102. Cf. 23, 6, 76.
- (4). Pseud.-Arist. 812b; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 29. Cf. 23, 6, 80: *adeo autem dissoluti sunt et artium laxitate vagoque incessu se iactantes ut effeminatos existimes.* See Pseud.-Arist. 808a; Pol. 276; Adamant. 400-401.

HUNS. 31, 2, 2: *ubi quoniam ab ipsis nascendi primitiis infantum ferro sulcantur altius genae, ut pilorum vigor tempestivus emergens conrugatis cicatricibus hebetetur, senescunt imberbes absque ulla venustate, spadonibus similes, compactis omnes firmisque membris et opimis cervicibus, prodigiosae formae set*

parvi,¹ ut bipedes existimes bestias vel quales in conmarginandis pontibus effigiati stipites dolantur incompte.

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 807a; 813b; Pol. 220; 268; Adamant. 366-367; 408-409; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 72-73; II, 131. Cf. 31, 2, 9; 31, 2, 11; 31, 2, 12.

ALANI. 31, 2, 21: *proceri autem Halani paene sunt omnes¹ et pulchri, crinibus mediocriter flavis,² oculorum temperata torvitate terribiles,³ et armorum levitate veloces, Hunnisque per omnia suppare verum victu mitiores et cultu, latrocinando et venando ad usque Maeotica stagna et Cimmerium Bosporon, itidemque Armenios discurrentes et Mediam.*

- (1). Pseud.-Arist. 813b; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 4, 7, 1123b. Cf. 31, 2, 22.

- (2). Pol. 250; Adamant. 393; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 24.

- (3). Pseud.-Arist. 807b; Adamant. 409; 414; Anon. Physiog. Lat. II, 52-53.

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF PROBUS¹

By FREDERIC MELVIN WHEELOCK

ANDES, humble village where Virgil first saw this world's light, quite naturally found a conspicuous place in the thoughts and the words of all who recently recognized the two-thousandth anniversary of the poet's birth. But where was ancient Andes? Some years ago, while at work upon inscriptions containing mention of the Virgilian family, Professor G. E. K. Braunholtz² was impressed by the fact that one such inscription exists at Calvisano, which, as Probus says of Andes, is thirty miles from Mantua. "However," he concludes, "it would be fanciful to dwell on this point longer. Tradition will, no doubt, continue to assign to Pietole the honor of being the birthplace of the greatest Roman poet."

These clearly conservative statements in time proved to be the origin of an interesting discussion, which has shown considerable vitality. In the first place, the late Professor R. S. Conway,³ aroused by Braunholtz's article to a further study of the subject, convinced himself that the statement of the Proban manuscripts which places Andes *milia passuum* XXX from Mantua is quite in harmony with the epigraphical evidence, so that he was prepared to look for Virgil's farm in the vicinity, not of Pietole, but of Carpenedolo.⁴ Then, after discussing these

¹ *De Probi Commentariorum Vergilianorum Textu Recensendo* was accepted in 1933 as my doctoral dissertation. This English version preserves the dissertation unchanged except for the addition here and there of references to the subsequent literature and of details gathered during a year's study in Europe. I take this occasion to acknowledge to Professor E. K. Rand my debt of gratitude for his suggestion of the subject and his never-failing counsel.

² "The Nationality of Virgil," *Cl. Rev.* XXIX (1915), pp. 104-110, especially pp. 108-109.

³ "Where Was Virgil's Farm?" *Harvard Lectures on the Vergilian Age* (1928), pp. 14-40, which will be cited hereafter as *Harv. Lect.*; "Further Considerations on the Site of Virgil's Farm," *C. Q.* XXV (1931), pp. 65-76; "Virgil, Probus, and Pietole Again," *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), pp. 209-214.

⁴ Concerning Calvisano and Carpenedolo see also E. K. Rand, "Virgil's Birthplace revisited," *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), p. 3.

external considerations, Conway declared that "the most important part of our subject is the literary evidence from the *Eclogues* themselves," wherein Virgil has incorporated scenic details which must be duplicated in any place that we seek to identify as the site of his farm.¹

On the other hand, Professor E. K. Rand² defends in the text of Probus the variant reading which makes Andes *milia passuum III* from Mantua, and he thus easily becomes the champion of the tradition which identifies ancient Andes with modern Pietole.³ In his opinion our task is first to plot the site of Andes as accurately as possible with the aid of the external⁴ evidence transmitted to us from ancient sources and then from the landscape of this locality to determine what geographic details in the *Eclogues* are definitely local and what are attributable rather to the poet's "delightful Arcadia."⁵

Since in support of their irreconcilable claims regarding the distance between Andes and Mantua, both Conway⁶ and Rand⁷ cite the same passage⁸ from the Proban *Life*, we are called upon to witness a lively struggle between *III* and *XXX*. Outlined briefly, the situation is this. Of our ancient *Vitae Vergilianae* the greater number⁹ preserve the substance of Suetonius's statement¹⁰ as reported by Donatus when he says that the poet was born at Andes, "which is not far from Mantua";

¹ Cf. *Harv. Lect.* p. 25; *C. Q.* XXV (1931), pp. 67 and 72.

² *In Quest of Virgil's Birthplace*, Cambridge, 1930, which will hereafter be cited as *Quest*; "Virgil's Birthplace revisited," *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), pp. 1-13, 65-74; "Once more Virgil's Birthplace," *H. S. C. P.* XLIV (1933), pp. 63-93.

³ Cf. Bruno Nardi, *The Youth of Virgil*, translated by Belle Palmer Rand, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 117-136.

⁴ *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), pp. 1 and 69.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 73.

⁶ *C. Q.* XXV (1931), pp. 70-73.

⁷ *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), pp. 2 ff.; 12-13; *H. S. C. P.* XLIV (1933), pp. 90-92.

⁸ *Appendix Serviana*, ed. H. Hagen, Leipzig, 1902, p. 323, 5. This is vol. III, fasc. II of *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*, ed. G. Thilo and H. Hagen. The *Appendix Serviana* will be hereafter cited as Hagen.

⁹ Jerome (*Eusebi Chronicon Libri duo*, ed. A. Schoene, Berlin, II (1866), p. 135), Donatus (*Vitae Vergilianae*, ed. I. Brummer, Leipzig, 1912, p. 1), Philargyrius (*op. cit.*, p. 40), *Vita Noricensis* (*op. cit.*, p. 54), *Vita Monacensis* (*op. cit.*, p. 56), *Vita Gudianae* II (*op. cit.*, p. 62) and III (p. 64). No reference to the distance appears in Servius, Focas, *Vita Gudianae* I, or *Vita Bernensis*.

¹⁰ Cf. *Quest*, pp. 144 and 170, n. 101.

Probus is the only one who tells us exactly how far. The Proban *Life* has come down to us in three 15th-century manuscripts named from their libraries *Monacensis*, *Parisinus*, and *Vaticanus* respectively,¹ in the *editio princeps* of Bussi (Rome, [1471]), and in the edition² of Egnatius (Venice, 1507), who boasted a *vetustissimus codex* as his exemplar. E reads *III*; the rest, *XXX*. Although in at least two places³ Conway admitted the superiority of E, nevertheless, because of the interpretation which he placed on Virgil's statements⁴ and his view that BMPV are equivalent to four⁵ witnesses against the reading presented by E alone, he was thoroughly confident that Probus wrote *XXX*.⁶ With this Rand cannot agree, for his investigation of certain trial passages has led him to maintain that, since BMPV derive from one common exemplar, which he calls z, and E derives from another, called y, the sides in this case of conflicting testimony are much more evenly matched than Conway would have us believe: that is, one (z) against one (y) and not four (BMPV) against one (E).⁷ Rand has pointed out,⁸ however, that a detailed study no less of the *Commentary* of Probus than of the *Life* is desirable if we are nicely to determine the interrelation of the several witnesses in the case and to estimate their value.

Such is the origin and the setting of this article. If the evidence impartially selected and here presented leads to a just and reasonable decision whether Probus⁹ wrote *III* or *XXX*, it will prove a source of

¹ I mention here only the manuscripts which have all, or nearly all, the text of both the Proban *Life* and the *Commentary*. Their sigla are M, P, and V respectively.

² Hereafter to be called E.

³ Rand, *Quest*, p. 167, n. 91; Conway, *C. Q.* XXV (1931), p. 74.

⁴ *C. Q.* XXV (1931), p. 72: "If Probus had written three miles, and not thirty miles, then he would have been in conflict . . . with Vergil's own statements, as I have already shown."

⁵ *C. Q.* XXV (1931), p. 75, and XXVI (1932), p. 211.

⁶ Concerning other scholars who have edited the Proban *Vita* or written upon the variants *III* and *XXX* see Rand, *H. S. C. P.* XLIV (1933), p. 91.

⁷ *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), p. 6.

⁸ Rand, *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), p. 6, especially notes 1 and 3, and *H. S. C. P.* XLIV (1933), p. 77; cf. Conway, *C. Q.* XXV (1931), p. 74.

⁹ The problem of Probus and pseudo-Probus is really not mine; see, for example, Rand, *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), p. 2, and *H. S. C. P.* XLIV (1933), pp. 81 ff.

satisfaction to have placed this contribution at the disposal of those in quest of Virgil's birthplace.

I. THE MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY EDITIONS

When in 1507 I. B. Egnatius brought out the *editio princeps*¹ of Probus, he furnished to subsequent editors the exemplar which, gradually corrupted here and there, they continued to follow down to the middle of the 19th century.² In 1848 Heinrich Keil, the first editor to return to the manuscripts² of Probus, introduced the testimony of *Codex Vaticanus Latinus* 2930 and of *Codex Parisinus Latinus* 8209 to help him in correcting the corrupt text of the editions. To these Georg Thilo added *Codex Monacensis Latinus* 755.³ On the other hand, he believed that *Codex Vaticanus Latinus* 3394 was of no value⁴ in the matter of textual criticism. Professor Bruno Nardi called attention⁵ to Bussi's *editio princeps* of the *Life*. And to Monsignor Mercati is due the credit for the discovery of the Proban fragment in *Codex Vaticanus Latinus* 7179. A brief description of these sources and a few other fragmentary ones is here given.

Cod. Vat. Lat. 2930 has been dated by all as a 15th-century⁶ manuscript. But this matter, too, finds Conway and Rand in disagreement: the former would place it "much nearer to 1400 than to 1500";⁷ the latter believes that it "might just as well have been written after the middle of the century."⁸ Rand's estimate has the support of Mercati, who points out that the codex, since it contains⁹ among

¹ Actually Bussi was the first to print the short *Life*, but Egnatius was the first, so far as is known, to print the entire text of Probus.

² Hagen, p. viii. See also H. Keil, *M. Valerii Probi in Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica Commentarius*, Halle, 1848, pp. v-vii. This edition will hereafter be referred to as Keil.

³ Hagen, p. viii.

⁴ *Rhein. Mus.* XV (1860), p. 150.

⁵ Rand, *Quest.*, pp. 164-165 n. 82; Nardi, *Youth*, p. 115 n. 5.

⁶ Keil, p. vii; Hagen, p. viii; Conway, *C. Q.* XXV (1931), p. 73; Rand, *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), p. 5.

⁷ Conway, *C. Q.* XXV (1931), p. 73; XXVI (1932), p. 212.

⁸ Rand, *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), p. 5.

⁹ The text of Probus occurs in foll. 68^r-111^r. For a description of the other contents see V. Zabughin, *Giulio Pomponio Leto*, Rome, 1919, II, p. 48; A. Dal Zotto,

other items an incunabulum of 1490, must have been formed after that date, and states that in his opinion the manuscript sections are not much earlier.¹ I may add for the sake of completeness that on the first page of this dated incunabulum I observed a marginal note written by the same hand² as that of the text of Probus.

The name of the scribe, however, we do not know; for although Keil accepted the report of his friend Brunn, who without hesitation pronounced the hand that of Pomponio Leto,³ the scholars of our own time agree that in this identification Brunn was mistaken.⁴ Whoever the scribe may have been, he wrote in the Proban section marginalia of two sorts: one group, and this the larger, is composed of topical glosses which merely indicate the subject-matter of the text; the other group comprises learned glosses, Latin and Greek, added to explain the text.

This manuscript in the estimation of the late Professor Sabbadini is the prime source for the text of Probus, "superior to all the other apographs and especially to that corrupt and lacunose one which served for the edition of Egnatius."⁵ Dal Zotto sees in V not only a copy of the Bobbio codex⁶ but also the exemplar of PM.⁷ Similarly

Vicus Andicus (Pubblicazioni della reale Accademia virgiliana di Mantova, VIII, Mantua, 1930), p. 5. A page from V is reproduced in *Quest*, fig. 113.

¹ Giovanni Mercati, "A Proposito del Commentario di Probo a Virgilio," *Rendiconti della pontificia Accademia romana di Archeologia*, VIII (1932), p. 27. This will be referred to hereafter as *Rendiconti*.

² Although we still are without an exact date for the manuscript, nevertheless this scribe's activity can scarcely have begun earlier than 1450, and may well have commenced later than that. In any case there is no indication that the Proban section and the marginal note were not written at about the same time.

³ Keil, pp. ix-x. But Thilo (*Rhein. Mus.* XV (1860), p. 150), having never seen the manuscript, hesitates to commit himself.

⁴ Zabughin, *Leto*, II, pp. 156 and 281 n. 268; Mercati, *Rendiconti*, p. 27; R. Sabbadini, "La Vita di Virgilio di Valerio Probo," *Historia*, VI (1932), p. 91, and "Del Commento di Valerio Probo a Virgilio — I Codici," *Historia*, VII (1933), p. 616. Sabbadini (*ibid.*) and others (Dal Zotto, p. 5, and Zabughin as cited both by Sabbadini and Dal Zotto) believe, however, that it may have been connected with Leto in some way.

⁵ *Historia*, VI (1932), p. 91 ("la fonte principale," etc.); VII (1933), p. 617 ("metto a base V, che è il codice più autorevole.")

⁶ This codex will be discussed below.

⁷ *Vicus Andicus*, p. 8.

di Martino says that, as a copy of this Bobbio codex, V is of supreme importance.¹ On the other hand it seems to Mercati that V is a copy of the manuscript of Pomponio Leto which survives to-day only as a fragment in *Vat. Lat.* 3394 or of the other 'Pomponian' book, *Par. Lat.* 8209.²

V was first, but none too carefully, collated by Keil. From his *apparatus criticus* Hagen drew the readings of V, both correct and incorrect, cited in his own edition.³

Cod. Par. Lat. 8209 has regularly, like V, been assigned to the 15th century,⁴ although Rand disagrees here with Conway as in the case of V above. Mercati is inclined to think,⁵ and Sabbadini definitely states,⁶ that P was written by Leto. After comparing P with passages clearly written by Leto,⁷ I cannot see that this is the work of his hand. Instead of relying upon Keil's edition for a report of P's variants, Hagen made a new collation himself.⁸ The scribe of the text has added marginalia but only as headings.

Cod. Mon. Lat. 755 preserves on foll. 1-27 the text of Probus written by Petrus Crinitus at Florence, October 6, 1496.⁹ It was

¹ Mario di Martino, "La Vita di Virgilio scritta da M. Valerio Probo," *Samnium*, V (1932), p. 183 ("V è d' importanza capitale").

² Mercati, *Rendiconti*, p. 27.

³ Hagen, p. viii.

⁴ Keil, p. vii; Hagen, p. viii. See also *Catalogus Codicum manuscriptorum*, Paris, 1744, par. III, tom. IV, p. 438, where the contents of this codex are listed. The Proban section occupies foll. 1^r-33^r.

⁵ *Rendiconti*, p. 27 and n. 13. He is not dogmatic on the point.

⁶ *Historia*, VII (1933), pp. 615 and 618: The Commentary of Probus "fu copiato due volte da Pomponio Leto in L. e P."

⁷ See, for instance, the plates in Zabughin's *Leto*, and particularly the three signatures of Leto depicted in tav. III of vol. I. As a result of my own study of Leto's hand I will admit that at times the scribe of P does make g's somewhat like those of Leto, but they seem to me not really to be the same, and in other test cases such as b, c, d, e, f, and & the letters of P lack the characteristics of Leto.

⁸ Hagen, p. viii.

⁹ See Mommsen, *Rhein. Mus.* XVI (1861), pp. 137-138; Hagen, p. viii; Rand, *Quest.*, pp. 128-129; 165, n. 87. Since the colophon is so easily accessible in these works, there is no need of quoting its entire text here. The other contents of this manuscript can be ascertained from Halm and Laubman, *Catalogus Cod. Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, 1868-1892. A glance at the illustration in fig. 114 of

Thilo¹ who added M to the *apparatus criticus* of our author; but as early as 1861 Mommsen had pointed out that, although M supplies no new readings of great importance, nevertheless, since it belongs to the family of PV, it often aids in determining the reading of the archetype when P and V differ.² Dal Zotto, however, would make M a copy of V.³ In the margins Crinitus has supplied topical headings similar to, but almost never identical with, those in P.

Cod. Vat. Lat. 3394 ⁴ has on foll. 35^r–39^r a fragment of Probus equivalent to pp. 376, 26–387, 30 of Hagen's text except for a long omission ⁵ (379, 5 *dicat*–381, 4 *Pelion autem*), concerning which there is no word of warning whatsoever in the manuscript. Although Thilo admits that this manuscript belonged to Leto and that Leto himself wrote the *De Regionibus Urbis*, he does not think that the Proban fragment is in the hand of the great humanist.⁶ On the contrary, Mercati and Sabbadini believe that Leto was the scribe of these folia.⁷ The marginalia are very frequently identical with those in V, and the text itself, which Thilo ⁸ found so similar to that of V as to have no critical

Quest will prepare anybody to agree with Mommsen that “die Schrift ist schwer zu lesen.”

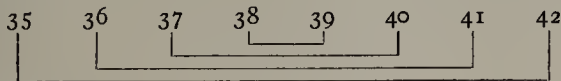
¹ Hagen, p. viii.

² *Rhein. Mus.* XVI (1861), p. 138.

³ *Vicus Andicus*, p. 8.

⁴ Zabughin (*Leto*, II, p. 182) describes the contents.

⁵ Since this gap is equivalent in extent to the amount of text which a folium of this Proban section regularly contains, I had concluded that at this point a folium was torn out and lost. Upon inspecting the manuscript itself I found corroboration of this conclusion in the fact that fol. 35, which originally preceded this lost folium, was itself considerably damaged, was torn loose, and finally, before being lost, was fastened back into place by being attached to a special repairing folium (fol. 42) which the binder inserted when he put this codex into its present shape.



⁶ *Rhein. Mus.* XV (1860), p. 150.

⁷ Mercati, *Rendiconti*, p. 27; Sabbadini, *Historia*, VII (1933), p. 615. To be sure, the style of the Proban fragment is somewhat more compressed than that of the monumental script in the *De Regionibus Urbis*, which even Thilo accepts as Leto's; but in my estimation the test letters mentioned above in connection with P here identify the hand as that of Leto.

⁸ *Rhein. Mus.* XV (1860), p. 150.

value, may, according to a conjecture of Mercati's, actually be the source of that text.¹

Before turning to the editions I will add a note or two on the fragments which I observed among the humanistic manuscripts at Munich and in the Vatican. *Cod. Mon. Lat.* 754, one of the manuscripts in the interesting collection of Crinitus's books, on fol. 155^r, at the beginning of a commentary on the *Bucolics*,² mentions Probus by name and quotes with liberties the equivalent of Hagen, p. 329, 1. This section is apparently not in Crinitus's hand but in one very similar. That he himself used this commentary, however, is proved by the index to it which he wrote in foll. 153^r–154^v. Again on fol. 199^r (= 191^r) the same hand is at work writing Probus's account of the origin of bucolic poetry,³ though the name of the grammarian nowhere appears.⁴ The earliest colophon⁵ in this codex bears the date 1481, and the latest 1496.

Attracted by reference in a Vatican catalogue to a *Vita succincta* of Virgil, I inspected *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 3255 and found that considerable material for this composite *Life* had been drawn from Probus. In fact, this *Life* is very similar⁶ to the one by Cynthius Cenetensis (Cinzio da Ceneda) preserved in *Cod. Ambr.* R 13.⁷ However, although the Ambrosian manuscript has received frequent mention⁸ in connection with Probus, I do not recall any reference to the Vatican

¹ Mercati, *Rendiconti*, p. 27.

² See Halm and Laubman, *Cat. Cod. Lat. Bibl. Reg. Monacensis*, ed. altera, 1892, III, 1, p. 189 for a list of the more important contents.

³ I.e., Hagen, pp. 324, 8—326, 21. Omission, condensation, and a tormentingly small script are this scribe's stock in trade.

⁴ This may account for the fact that, although this section is conspicuous because of the blank folia that precede and follow it, Halm and Laubman have made no reference to it in their account of the manuscript.

⁵ This is not, it seems to me, in the hand of Crinitus, but those dated 1496 are.

⁶ There are, to be sure, omissions and differences of wording, but these items seem small when compared with the points of similarity.

⁷ It is dated December 16, 1478; see references in the following note.

⁸ Keil, p. 1x; Bruno Nardi, "Per un' Edizione critica della Vita di Virgilio attribuita a Probo," *Atti e Memorie della r. Accad. virg. di Mantova*, XXII (1931), p. 3 (to be cited hereafter as *Ed. crit.*); Conway, *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), p. 210; Sabbadini, *Historia*, VI (1932), p. 91; VII (1933), p. 616, where he also gives references to his *Le Scoperte dei Codici*, 1905, pp. 167–168. See also Angelo Mai, *Class.*

manuscript. Pierre de Nolhac, probably on the basis of Fulvio Orsini's note on the fly-leaf of this codex, says without qualification that this is the work of Leto's hand,¹ but I agree rather with Zabughin,² who believes that Leto wrote neither the text nor many of the marginalia.

In 1471 Bussi published the second Roman edition of Virgil.³ This contains among other things the *editio princeps* of the Proban *Life*, which along with the Medicean Virgil he had received from Leto.⁴ Nardi suggests that this *Life* may come from V or some manuscript closely connected with it.⁵ In Sabbadini's estimation B and V are the two primary⁶ sources for the *Life*. More important for our purposes than the copy at the Laurentian library is the one at the National Library in Paris, which preserves in addition to the printed text a wealth of notes in the hand of Angelo Politian.⁷ The originally blank folia 17^v and 18^r he has filled with Probus's introduction to the *Bucolics* (Hagen, pp. 324, 8–329, 16), while among his marginalia that surround the text of Virgil he has entered numerous extracts from the *Commentary* itself, usually with explicit attribution to Probus. The date

Auct. e Vat. Codicibus editorum, Rome, 1835, VII, pp. 323–325. I have been unable to see Mario Dozio's *Cynthii Cenetensis In Virgilii Aeneidem Commentarium*, Milan, 1845.

¹ *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, Paris, 1887, p. 199 and the plate at the end of the volume. But B. L. Ullman ("Poggio's Manuscripts of Livy—alleged and actual," *Cl. Philol.* XXVIII (1933), p. 282) warns us that "Nolhac's book is a very unsafe guide and his work needs to be done over again."

² Leto, pp. 66–69; 291, n. 381. Zabughin provides a facsimile of a page of this manuscript.

³ For a description see W. A. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium bibliographicum*, London, 1902, Part II, No. 6000, pp. 145–146; cf. Nardi, *Youth*, p. 115, n. 5.

⁴ Dal Zotto, *Vicus Andicus*, p. 7; Sabbadini, *Historia*, VI (1932), p. 91. Cf. also Rand, *Quest*, p. 167, n. 89 and p. 166, fig. 126, which is a fine facsimile of two pages of the Laurentian copy of this incunabulum.

⁵ *Youth*, p. 115, n. 5.

⁶ *Historia*, VI (1932), p. 91.

⁷ It is marked *Réserve g, Y, c, 236*. My attention was directed to this copy by O. von Gebhardt's "Ein Bücherfund in Bobbio," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, V (1888), p. 388 (which will hereafter be cited as *Zentralblatt*). See also Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 1914, p. 246; and P. de Nolhac, *Bibl. de Fulvio Orsini*, pp. 210–212. To the kindness of Professor E. K. Rand I am indebted for photographs and a description.

of these notes obviously must be set between 1471 and Politian's death in 1494.¹ Gebhardt conjectures that the manuscript which Crinitus, Politian's pupil, copied at Florence two years after his master's death was the same one which Politian had used.²

Iohannes Baptista Egnatius was the first³ to put the *Commentary* of Probus into print, when in his edition of Virgil published at Venice in 1507 he included it among the other commentaries⁴ with which he framed the text of the poet. The Proban *Life* also he placed with those of Donatus and Servius at the head of the volume.

But what kind of editor was he? What kind of text has he transmitted to us? These questions have provoked a number of severe replies, beginning with Keil's charges that Egnatius was guilty of negligence and was prone to emendation.⁵ Similarly among scholars of our own time Sabbadini has progressed from the observation that the exemplar of E was corrupt and lacunose⁶ to a fresh pronouncement of the charge of emendation⁷ against Egnatius himself; and Conway, in spite of his indebtedness⁸ to the edition of 1507, is for obvious reasons glad to add his word of disparagement for Egnatius's discomfort.⁹

But Egnatius has champions of equal strength. A careful considera-

¹ In fact, it is a reasonable conjecture that they were written before 1489, when he published his *Miscellanea*, which in chapter 50 contains a reference to Probus (see Gebhardt, *Zentralblatt*, V (1888), p. 387).

² *Zentralblatt*, V (1888), p. 388: "eben dieselbe war, deren Poliziano sich bedient hatte."

³ *Sequitur Probi celeberrimi Grammatici in Bucolica et Georgica Commentariolus non ante impressus*. Keil (p. v) cites the whole of this title and the colophon also.

⁴ Those of Servius, Donatus, Landino, Mancinelli (Keil, p. v).

⁵ Keil, p. viii.

⁶ *Historia*, VI (1932), p. 91.

⁷ Obviously from the textual critic's point of view an unpleasant charge, even when tempered with a "rettamente." Says Sabbadini (*Rendiconti*, p. 1093): "Dell'Egnazio molti parlano, ma nessuno ancora ha indagato il suo procedimento critico, nel quale *sunt bona mixta malis*, perchè egli ora emendava rettamente, ora interpolava audacemente. Qui si propone un primo saggio." This quotation comes from his article "Di G. B. Egnazio Editore di Valerio Probo," *Rendiconti del r. Istituto lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, serie II, LXV (1932), pp. 1093-1096, which will hereafter be cited as *Rendiconti*.

⁸ Cf. Rand, *Quest*, p. 167, n. 91; Conway, *C. Q.* XXV (1931), p. 74.

⁹ Cf. Rand, *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), p. 7; Conway, *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), p. 211.

tion of his editorial professions and his practices¹ has convinced Rand that Egnatius was too faithful a copyist and too reliable an editor to allow himself the license of conscious emendation; and Dal Zotto has written a spirited reply to Keil's statement about Egnatius's careless omissions and rash changes of order.² Nardi, also, has declared³ his faith in the reliability and the superiority of the *editio princeps* of our author. My own opinion on the subject I shall state only after an examination of important passages.

Ever since Keil's time Egnatius's statement about his exemplar has been often repeated and much discussed. He says: *In Bucolicis quod ad Probi commentariolum attinet secuti sumus uetustatem illam quemadmodum ex vetustissimo codice manu scripto Bobii quondam a Georgio Merula inuento adnotauimus*.⁴ In these words originates the Bobbio question.⁵ From his comparison of P and V with E, Keil readily concluded⁶ that this Bobbio codex, now lost, was the ultimate source of all three copies, and that it was, in fact, the ultimate source of all the references to the *Commentary* introduced by the Italian scholars of the fifteenth century. Naturally enough, Egnatius's words had been understood⁷ as referring to Merula's famous discovery of manuscripts at Bobbio in 1493; but in 1888 O. von Gebhardt,⁸ unable to find any reference to Probus in the literature covering Merula's discovery of that date and troubled by the rather wide knowledge about Probus before that date, decided against the view that had been current up to his time, although he adds that we do not have to accuse Egnatius of deliberate falsification.⁹ Dal Zotto,¹⁰ starting with the Greek contents in the Vatican codex and the belief that E and V are both direct copies of the Bobbio manuscript, elaborates the ingenious theory that,

¹ See especially Rand, *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), pp. 8-12; also *Quest*, pp. 136-137.

² *Vicus Andicus*, pp. 9-15.

³ *Ed. crit.*, pp. 4 ff.

⁴ For a facsimile of this passage see Dal Zotto, *Vicus Andicus*, p. 5.

⁵ As anybody who is acquainted with the literature will understand, my summary of this problem is perforce a meager one. Cf. Mercati, *Rendiconti*, pp. 23-24.

⁶ Keil, pp. viii-ix.

⁷ Even as late as Hagen's *Appendix Serviana* (p. viii). See particularly O. von Gebhardt, *Zentralblatt*, V (1888), p. 384.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, especially pp. 343-359; 383-390.

⁹ Perhaps the codex came from Merula's library and was thus by mistake assigned to the discovery of 1493 (*id.*, p. 389).

¹⁰ *Vicus Andicus*, pp. 5-8.

while he was at Milan, Merula about 1460 acquired the Bobbio codex, that at Milan a copy (V) was made which somehow reached Leto's hands in Rome, and that from Milan Merula took the ancient codex to Venice, where it ultimately came into the possession of Egnatius. But Sabbadini¹ sees in Number 161 of the 1461 catalogue of the Bobbio library a possible reference to Probus, and conjectures that this codex with the Medicean Virgil (which is numbered 160) had arrived at Rome certainly by 1470, for Leto is known to have made the Medicean codex and the *Life* by Probus available to Bussi for his second Roman edition of Virgil. Latest to write upon the problem is Mercati. In his article² he argues against the theory of Dal Zotto, and then decides that possibly Leto, but certainly not Merula, was the discoverer of the Bobbio codex; that, though the provenience of the manuscript might just as well be any north-Italian library as the one at Bobbio, the question had better be left open; and that Egnatius's chief error was in asserting as a fact that which was merely a supposition. Finally, he admits that, even if Sabbadini's identification of Probus in the 1461 catalogue is purely and simply a possibility, it is, nevertheless, an attractive one. While Mercati's second work, the *Prolegomena* to Cicero's *Republic*,³ is far grander in scope than his above-mentioned article, and bristles with learned facts and observations essential for a thorough understanding of the Bobbio problem, the two items of really immediate importance for the more narrow subject of Egnatius and his ancient codex are Mercati's cautious but favorable repetition of Sabbadini's theory⁴ and his insistence on his own view that Egnatius was mistaken about Merula's discovering the *vetustissimus codex* of Probus at Bobbio.⁵ For the present this brief sketch of the Bobbio problem must suffice. My purpose has been merely to give some idea of the complications, to show the contradictory nature of the theories, and to emphasize that it is simply upon theories, and not upon facts, that this problem chiefly thrives.

¹ *Historia*, VI (1932), pp. 88-91.

² *Rendiconti*, pp. 23-28.

³ *M. Tulli Ciceronis De Re Publica Libri e Codice rescripto Vaticano Latino 5757 phototypice expressi. Prolegomena de Fatis Bibliothecae Monasterii S. Columbani Bobiensis*, etc., Vatican City, 1934, especially pp. 73 ff. This will hereafter be called *Prolegomena*.

⁴ *Prolegomena*, p. 74.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 75.

In conclusion something should be said about the collations of the sources, for the truth is that even in Hagen's impressive apparatus the report of the evidence is all too frequently deficient or positively incorrect. Startling indeed is, for instance, Dal Zotto's observation that Hagen can calmly cite E for seventeen variants in a passage which actually E does not contain.¹ The whole trouble is that Hagen relied entirely upon Keil's edition for the report of at least E and V, and thus perpetuated the original inaccuracies,² adding to them others which developed from certain misleading methods of this German scholar.³ With all this in mind Rand called for a new collation.⁴ In the pursuance of this task, with the aid of the Harvard copy of Egnatius's edition,⁵ I came upon so many mistakes in Hagen's report of E that a fresh collation of all the manuscripts promised to be profitable; and so it was.⁶ This new collation should help considerably toward a more accurate evaluation of the evidence presented by the several witnesses in the case.

SIGLA ⁷

- A The extracts from Probus's *Commentary* written by Politian in the Paris copy of B (*q.v.*) between 1471 and 1494. To the *Life* as printed (i.e., B) Politian has added no notes.

¹ The passage is Hagen, pp. 344, 1—347, 1. See Dal Zotto, p. 12; Rand, *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), p. 7, n. 5.

² Cf. Dal Zotto, p. 8, who adds that such inaccuracies live on in the *Vitae Virgilianae* of Ernst Diehl, Bonn, 1911, and of Jacob Brummer, Leipzig, 1912.

³ In a critical edition we naturally expect that, unless some statement to the contrary is made, all codices not cited in the apparatus have the same reading as that of the text. Thus, apparently, Hagen used Keil's work; and the errors in the present case arose from Keil's failure to indicate the lacuna in E. In this connection, however, Keil's statement (p. x) about his use of E is enlightening: *Egnatium autem ibi tantum consulerem, ubi aut dubitabam, utrum codicem* (i.e., V or P) *sequerer, aut corruptam uterque scripturam praebebat.*

⁴ *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), p. 7, n. 5.

⁵ Preserved in the Treasure Room of Widener Library.

⁶ I had to rely upon photographs until the opportunity came to study the manuscripts themselves. As a result of this experience I may add that, indispensable as such photographs are when one finds it impossible to consult the originals, they naturally cannot tell the whole story and may at times be not a little misleading.

⁷ All are on paper except G, which is on parchment.

- B *Virgilii Opera*, second edition by G. A. Bussi, Rome, 1471, containing the *editio princeps* of the Proban *Life*.
- C *Cod. Mon. Lat.* 754, 15th cent. (time of Crinitus), fragment containing pp. 324, 8 – 326, 21 of Hagen's edition of Probus.
- E *P. Vergilii Maronis Bucolica Georgica Aeneis*, ed. I. B. Egnatius, Venice, 1507; *Life and Commentary* of Probus with the omission of Hagen, pp. 344, 1 – 347, 1 (*rerum — et sic*).
- G *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 3255, 15th cent. (time of Giulio Pomponio Leto), fragment containing excerpts from the *Life* and the *Commentary*.
- L *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 3394, 15th cent., fragment in the hand of Leto containing Hagen, pp. 376, 26 – 379, 5 (*Hercules — canes*) and 381, 4 – 387, 30 (*est eadem — sunt*).
- M *Cod. Mon. Lat.* 755, written by Petrus Crinitus, Florence, 1496. It lacks Hagen, pp. 378, 26 – 387, 30 (*interea — sunt*).
- P *Cod. Par. Lat.* 8209, 15th cent. (second half); *Life and Commentary* complete.
- R *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 7179, 16th cent., fragment containing Hagen, pp. 323, 1 – 337, 11 (*exclamat*). This is Sabbadini's N (*Historia*, VII (1933), p. 615).
- V *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 2930, 15th cent. (second half); *Life and Commentary* complete.

A suprascript cross preceding any of these sigla (*E, *V, etc.) indicates that Hagen has not reported the variant which actually appears in this codex. A similar cross before a reading itself indicates that the reading has been incorrectly reported.

II. THE STEMMA

The welter of conflicting opinions recorded in the foregoing section suggests a number of questions. Do the various manuscripts and editions exhibit common errors¹ which point to their descent from a common ancestor, namely, Egnatius's *vetustissimus codex*?² Are there

¹ Throughout this article the codices will be classified on the basis of agreement in error.

² In order not to beg the Bobbio question, I shall regularly refer to Egnatius's archetype as his *vetustissimus codex* rather than as his Bobbio codex.

common errors which require that ABCGLMPRV be grouped together as one family and others which isolate E? Can that large family be subdivided again into smaller families? Is V the very next in line to the *vetustissimus codex* and in turn the parent of MP, etc., or is V merely the child of L? Above all, what are the characteristics of the text handed down to us by Egnatius?

A. Errors common to all Codices¹

In answer to the first question it can be said that there are common errors which indicate the ultimate derivation of all the extant codices from a lost archetype. To this the siglum x¹ will be assigned.² Examples³ follow.

- 323, 7-8 primumque bellum veteranis post Mutinense, postea] Hag.⁴ Keil
BPV
primum quod bellum veteranis post Mutinense, postea M
[primumque — Mutinense om. R lac. unius vers. relict] postea R
primumque [lacuna] Post mutinense bellum veteranis. [lac.]
POSTEA E⁵
primumque post Mutinense bellum veteranis agri eius distributi
sunt, postea coni. Keil
primumque post Mutinense bellum veteranis eius ager distributus
postea coni. Hag.
primumque post Mutinense bellum < ager eius in praemium
victoriae destinatus, deinde abreptus distributusque post Philip-
pense bellum > ueteranis postea coni. Conway

The readings of all the codices are clearly senseless as they stand, and consequently there is general agreement not only about the

¹ The term 'codices' includes the printed B and E as well as the manuscripts.

² The letter x will be reserved for the manuscript written by "Probus" himself.

³ Others will be discussed below.

⁴ In the citation of a passage the first reading, separated from the rest by a square bracket, is that of Hagen's edition; but of course in placing this first, I do not intend to imply that it is the correct reading. When sigla are added after the bracket, the meaning is that such codices agree with Hagen's text in all essential features, though they may possibly differ in details of punctuation or of spelling which for the case under consideration are really unimportant (e.g., capitalization; the use of u for v, of e or æ for æ, etc.).

⁵ *Quest*, fig. 115, shows just how these lacunae look in E.

"grave historical mistake" at this point but also about the corrupt condition of the source from which all our texts of Probus have come down.¹ It is hard to believe² that Egnatius would have left such generous spaces in his text had he not found them in his exemplar; but on the contrary, it is conceivable that through carelessness or desire to save space a scribe might fail to indicate such lacunae. In this respect, then, E represents the archetype more faithfully than do the rest.³ Similarly, all attempts to reconstruct the text at this point obviously start with E's version⁴ rather than with those of the rest. Therefore, although E agrees in error with the other codices, it does give evidence of superiority on two scores.

325, 8-9 et quicumque vicisset, praemium haberet quod]
 cumque et qui vicisset, praemium haberet quod *AMPV*
 eumque qui vicisset, praemium haberet quod *C*
 isque (*corr. ex* cumque) qui vicisset praemium haberet quod *R*
 cum clava eum⁵ qui vicisset praemium haberet quod *E*
 cumque pedita essent qui vicisset praemium haberet quod *coni.*
*Thilo*⁶
 et qui vicisset praemium haberet quodcunque *Keil*

Since all reports of this passage fail to make sense, we have here another instance to be added to the list of errors which point to a common archetype. Moreover, since not all the witnesses report the error in exactly the same form, it can be reasonably conjectured that the scribes found their archetype difficult to read at this point. From a careful study of the situation I believe that the correct reading⁷ ap-

¹ See, for example, Rand, *Quest*, pp. 136 and 167, n. 91, and *H. S. C. P.* XLIV (1933), pp. 86-87 (the latest statement and various references); Sabbadini, *Historia*, VI (1932), p. 94; Nardi, *Ed. crit.*, p. 8.

² Especially so since space seems to have been at a premium in this convenient but well-packed volume — cf. Rand, *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), p. 9.

³ The line left blank in R may perhaps represent the two gaps in E extended into one grand omission by the rather erratic scribe of R, whose eccentricities will be discussed later. In any case, something was wrong at this point.

⁴ See *Quest*, p. 167, n. 91.

⁵ Keil and Hagen incorrectly report *et*.

⁶ Georg Thilo, "Über Probus Commentar zu Vergils Bucolica und Georgica," *Fleckeisens Jahrb. für cl. Philologie*, CXLIX (1894), p. 295.

⁷ A number of considerations recommend this reading: (1) it makes sense; (2) it requires the introduction of no new elements not already found in the codices

peared in x¹ thus: *cumque clava essent; qui vicisset praemium haberet quod*. . . . If someone should join Keil¹ in the charge that here Egnatius has emended,² perhaps with the aid of Diomedes, the reply is that, since the reading of E makes neither good sense nor good syntax, it can scarcely be regarded as the work of a scholarly humanist intent upon the improvement of his text; and if Egnatius had consulted Diomedes, why did he use *clava* instead of the latter's *pedo*? This passage, then, is one of considerable importance: it shows that all codices derive ultimately from the same archetype; it shows, further, that because of the similarity of their error ACMPRV form a subfamily distinct from E; it shows that, even if E's version is not completely free from fault, it is nevertheless superior to all other readings — and superior not through emendation but through a more accurate report of the archetype.

Similar is the case of

325, 2 Lyaeam] *edd.* Lyacam E Lymacam PRVM (*sed* lymacham M)
 λιμακην A Lyaea C *ut videtur* Λυσίκακον coni. Thilo

Since none of these variants can be accepted as correct³ and since the one error common to AEMPRV is the *c*, their archetype doubtless had *Lyacam* for *Lyaeam*, which represents an easy confusion of *c* and *e*. Egnatius faithfully preserved the error of x¹; but the rest further corrupted the word, as Rand has plausibly explained, by misreading a point over the *y* as an *m*-stroke. The scribe of A simply transliterated this corrupted form. Once more in an instance of common error Egnatius's reading is conspicuous for being nearest to the correct one. In fact, it is remarkable that this humanistic scholar and editor did not write *Lyaeam* when emendation would have been so easy.

(*eum* and perhaps *et* reflect a garbled *ēcnt*=*essent*); (3) it is palaeographically plausible; (4) it preserves the essential order of words indicated by the codices. The expression *cum clava essent* has the support of Cicero, 2 *Verr.* 5, 3, 7: *ut nequis cum telo servus esset*. And it may be added that often the style of Probus is inelegant.

¹ Keil, p. viii.

² As the scribe of R certainly seems to have done.

³ If I have correctly deciphered the reading of C; the word doubtless represents an emendation (concerning the unreliability of the testimony of C consult the section below devoted to this manuscript).

- 377, 1 sumpta apicea] *Keil Naek* sumptaque picea *EMPLV*
 381, 6 'Ἀπίστω] *coni. Duebner* Ariston *EPLV* *om. M totum locum*
 383, 1 finiunt] *edd.* fiunt *EPV* fiñit (*et in marg. .. fiunt*) *L*
 385, 30 Porum] *per eum EP* Paerea *LV* Porea *Keil*

I add these cases from the latter part of the *Commentary* in order to demonstrate that *L* agrees in error with the other main witnesses. Incidentally, had Egnatius been victim to that emendatory vice so glibly attributed to him, it is hard to believe that he could have refrained from tampering with the senseless *fiunt* and *per eum*.

B. Errors common to ABCGLMPRV

If the foregoing errors indicate that all the extant codices of Probus trace their origin to a common ancestor,¹ other errors not appearing in *E* but shared by the rest make it plain that these codices form a family derived from an intermediate exemplar² — call it *z* — which must be placed between them and *x*¹. The following examples emphasize this family relationship, of which, as a matter of fact, we have already seen hints in some of the passages of section A above.

- 325, 11-12 [Quod genus — nominantur] *E (sine uncis)* *om. ACMPRV*
 325, 15-16 [fluvio — confunderetur] *E (sine uncis)* *om. ACMPRV*

Keil and Hagen, to be sure, inclose both these passages in square brackets, but other scholars³ agree that *E* has correctly preserved these sections which the scribe of *z* omitted by haplography. Since there is no reason to suppose that Egnatius invented them and since there is an easy explanation for their omission, I conclude that here *ACMPRV* agree in errors which, scarcely to be regarded as committed by so many scribes independently, must have been derived from an exemplar intermediate between them and *x*¹.

- 387, 21-22 Minervae — Mars] *E*
 Minervae [*lacuna*] Aranea [*lacuna*] Mars *PLV*

¹ Because of its fragmentary nature *G* was the only manuscript not mentioned in at least one of the passages in section A, but its membership in the *z* family (see below) is sufficient to mark it a descendant of *x*¹.

² See the stemma on p. 123.

³ See Thilo, *Fleck. Jahrb.* CXLIX (1894), p. 297; Dal Zotto, *Vicus Andicus*, pp. 10-11.

These gaps in PLV are clearly traceable to a damaged exemplar. In view of Egnatius's faithful indication of gaps in the *Life*, the belief is surely reasonable that he found x¹ uninjured at this point. On the other hand, since the scribes of P and V carefully observe the gaps here, they would doubtless have done the same in the *Life* had any appeared at that point in their exemplar. This case, then, not only gives us grounds for adding z to the stemma but also impresses upon us that z was none too faithful a copy of x¹.

326, 1-2 contenti tamquam mercede fructu casei vel lactis] A Keil
 contenti tamquam mercedem fructu casei vel lactis MPVC
 (lactes C)
 contenti tamquam mercedem fructu (corr. ex fructum) casei vel
 lactis R
 contenti tamquam constitutam mercedem lactis vel casei ^xE (sic)

Both Keil and Hagen appear quite unaware of the variant in E and they have nowhere shown any knowledge of A. It seems, therefore, that Keil, followed by Hagen, felt it necessary to relieve the senseless situation in CMPRV by changing *mercedem* to *mercede*. By the same token I regard A's *mercede* as an independent and a simple emendation to the easier reading. However, in view of the complete agreement of CEMPRV concerning *mercedem* it is the word with which we should be most loath to tamper. With this in mind let us consider the value of E's variant. While the reading is in some respects difficult,¹ it does make sense without the alteration of a single item;² it has no earmarks of an emendation;³ on the contrary it is easier to show how

¹ For I take *contenti* in the sense of 'eager' (from *contendo*), which is not so common as *contenti* in the sense of 'content' (from *contineo*). In fact, it is conceivable that originally *contenti* stood before *adhiberent* but that the scribe of x¹ accidentally placed it after the verb, where the meaning of 'content' would seem more natural.

² It is to be noted that E alone, having no punctuation between *adhiberent* and *contenti*, permits the close association of these two words. With this in mind and with 'eager' as the meaning of *contenti* I venture the following translation: "... there were men who without actual pay (*gratuitam*) were eager to give (*adhiberent contenti*) their shepherd's service (*custodiendis operam*) as the established price, so to speak, of the milk and the cheese."

³ Had *constitutam* not stood in Egnatius's exemplar, he would have had no reason to add the word, for neither is it a guide to the sense (as doubtless *fructu* was intended to be) nor does it contain anything essential to the thought of the passage.

readings like those of ACMPRV could develop from E's version ¹ than E's from theirs. This problem has demonstrated further the necessity of adding z to the stemma. It has also given us an opportunity to observe E's correctness in a difficult place; and it has forced us to the realization that Egnatius's superiority is attributable simply to his faithful report of a superior exemplar, for it is not the text of E but rather that of z and, in particular, A and R, which has been corrupted and corrected.

Besides the passage cited above (p. 387, 21-22) two others show that L should be assigned to the z group.²

378, 13 furia] *E* syria *LMPV*
382, 29 Musarum (dux)] *Keil* musarum *LPV* musis sacrum *E*

Surely all such examples ³ justify the addition of z as the more immediate source of ABCGLMPRV and the belief that this source was not so pure as that of E.

C. The Problem of M and P

Dal Zotto has conjectured that M and P may be copies of V. The following cases, however, disprove that theory.⁴

350, 18 Ipse — creditur] *EMP om. V*
350, 25 sed — dictas] *EMP om. V*
364, 7-8 quae — referunt] *EMP om. V*

On the other hand, M and P may be descendants of a lost exemplar which intervened between them and z.

377, 1 ornantur] *M* hornantur *P* honorantur *ELV*
377, 2 Nemea] *E* Nemea *LV* in Nemea *MP*

¹ It is conceivable that the exemplar of ACMPRV omitted *constitutam* by haplography (note the similarity of letters and sounds in *contenti tamquam*), and that *fructu* was an easy gloss on *mercedem* which became incorporated into the text.

² Because of their completeness I shall regard VP(M) as the 'common denominators' of the z group, which numbers so many fragments in its membership.

³ Other instances will appear frequently throughout the article. Those involving B and G are cited on pp. 99, 119 and 120.

⁴ As also do the numerous other instances of V alone in error, many of which are cited below, *passim* (e.g., p. 112).

- 377, 14-15 Indi ab Indiae flumine Gange] *E*
 Indi a flumine Gange *MP* ab Indie flumine Gange *LV*
 377, 27 exciditur] *ELV* excinditur *MP*

I cite these four instances as a group both because these are the only places ¹ for which we have the valuable evidence of *L* and also because they occur so near to one another. This latter fact is particularly significant; for even if we were to grant that any one of these errors might possibly be committed by two scribes independently, still we can hardly be asked to accept it as likely that two manuscripts would have four identical errors of this sort in such close succession unless they had inherited them from a common exemplar. These considerations ² prompt me to group *M* and *P* together as a subfamily, although it would be a matter of no great moment if someone should prefer not so to associate them. Let the head of this family be called *z*¹.

Readings peculiar to *P* are not very numerous.

- 325, 7 fronti adiuncta] *ACEMRV* iuncta fronti *P*
 328, 5 nisi] *AEMRV* nisit *P*
 328, 5 contestatur] *AEMRV* testatur *P*
 334, 29 quod Homerus] *EMRV* om. *P*
 350, 26 δρὺς ἄμα] *EMV* Drys hama *P*
 372, 12 nocuit] *EMV* meruit *P*

The following errors appear in *M* alone.

- 324, 24 Gelonis] *AEPRV* Geloris *M* hieronem *C*
 327, 7 gratias Didoni ageret] *APRV* gratias ageret didoni *M* Didoni
 gratias ageret *E*
 327, 12 naturae] *AEPRV* naturam *M*
 329, 19 ex Antiopa Nyctei] *R* ex Antiopa Nyctei filia *E* ex Anthiopa
 Nictēi *PV*(Nictēi *V*) ex antiopa nyctaei *A* et anthiopae nictati *M*
 351, 16 Icmaeo] icmeo *E* Icnio *V* Ichnio *P* isthmio *M*
 351, 22 corpore] *EP* opere *corr.* ex corpore *M*
 376, 8 Musius fons] *EPV* unus mons *M*
 378, 1 accipi] *ELPV* intelligi *M*

¹ The text of *M* breaks off soon after that of *L* begins; and the importance of *L* as a check on *V* will become apparent before long.

² Other examples are: 323, 15 hanc] *scripsit Hag.* hoc *BERV* Keil hac *MP*;
 323, 16 sestertium] *BEGRV* sextertium *MP*; 327, 21 anethi] *EV* Aneti *A* anheti
MP; 361, 14 capricorno] *GV* capricornum *MP* om. *E*; 369, 15 destillat] *EV* distillat

In P practically all the variants are of the accidental scribal sort,¹ and I am tempted to regard only a few in M as possibly deliberate changes (e.g., *opere*, *isthmio*). These lists, then, warrant the conclusion that neither M nor P is a copy of the other and that the scribes of M and P are faithful copyists — the scribe of P noticeably so.

D. *The Problem of A and M*

Closer than the relationship of M and P is that between M and A, as we see from the following passages.²

324, 21-22 παρὰ τὸ μὴ στρέφεισθαι quo titulo] *EPRV om. AM*

The minor variants in the Greek of *EPRV* will be studied in a later section; for the present these witnesses may be regarded as in essential agreement. Great significance should be attached to the fact that *AM* not only omit the Greek, without leaving any gaps, but at the same time omit two Latin words along with the Greek. It is inconceivable

MP; 369, 23 felicis] *EV faelicis MP (et sic 378, 8)*; 369, 24 Medae] *EV Mediae MP*; 370, 20 virum] *EV viros MP*; 374, 9 regio] *EV regno MP*. See also the case of *novam generationem*, below, p. 131, and other examples throughout the article.

¹ Sabbadini (*Historia*, VII (1933), p. 618) gives a list of 15 "actual or probable corrections introduced by P." However, even when we grant that his dominant interest lies in a comparison of L and P, his method is, it seems to me, unscientific in that he cites *only* L and P and does not pay the slightest attention to such important witnesses as *EV(M)*. But in the clear light of all the available evidence these 15 instances take on a different hue. (A) Of them 3 must be thrown out because P actually exhibits the same form as L: 384, 13 retinere] continere *L^xPV om. E*; 384, 18 demonstretur] *Keil demonstraretur PL (sic) demonstraret V om. E*; 387, 23 lanificii] *ELP linificii V*. (B) In 8 cases P has the valuable support of at least E: 378, 9 potest] *EMP post LV*; 381, 18 est] *EP om. LV*; 382, 21 cupidius] *EP cupidinis LV*; 383, 6 utuntur] *EP utantur V utantur corr. ex utuntur L*; 383, 31 genus] *EP genere LV*; 385, 1 partitionem] *EP partionem *VL*; 385, 11 serpillum] *serpilla *EP om. LV*; 385, 30 Porum] *per eum EP Paerea LV*. Surely here E and P have preserved the readings of x¹; it is rather L and V which have introduced errors. (C) There remain 4 others: 382, 27 Delphi] *Delphici ELV Delphis P*; 384, 5 regionibus] *P regibus *ELV*; 384, 13 honeste] *P honesta LV om. E*; 387, 30 sunt] *P sint *ELV*. The last two are merely accidental scribal variants in P, and it is quite possible that the two others also are.

² Of Politian's excerpts from Probus I have available the equivalent of 146 lines of Hagen's edition (pp. 324, 8 ff.); these are ample for our needs.

that the great Politian, as scribe of A, could have failed to copy this simple Greek had it appeared in his exemplar. Furthermore, there is no easy explanation for the peculiar loss of the two Latin words as well. Obviously we are in no position to call this an error committed by the scribes of A and M independently. Our only logical course is to trace it to a lost exemplar which they both followed — call it f. Two more examples of agreement in omission are:

- 328, 3 suos] *EPRV om. AM*
 329, 7 (se) senem] senem se ^xE senem *PRV om. AM*

Other variants¹ emphasize further the close connection between A and M:

- 325, 17 flumine] *EPRV fluuio AM flu. G*
 327, 1 sic] *EPR sic corr. ex dic V hic AM*
 327, 17 heroico carmini aptari] *EPRV aptari heroico carmini AM*
 329, 1 Libyca lingua] *ECPRV lingua libyca AM*
 330, 4 Eretrieus] *A Schneidewin erethrieus M Erechtheis E Erichtheus PV*

If in this last instance A and M happen to have the correct form (which, indeed, it seems to be), I believe that they have it because of the correction in f of what, to judge from the testimony of EMP, was an error in x¹.

These two manuscripts, however, do not always agree in points of incorrectness. Examples of A alone in error are instructive.

- 324, 12 religiosior] *EMPV relligiosior A religiosum R*
 327, 3 tanto] *EMPRV tantum A*
 327, 6 est] *EMPRV om. A*
 330, 2 Actaeon a canibus] *EMPRV (Actæon R Acteon cell.) a canibus acteon A*

¹ There are also some peculiarities in spelling: 326, 10 Tauriani] *CPV Thauriani MA (sed h del. A) tauricani R taurocini E*; 327, 19 Nais] *EPV Nais corr. ex Nays A nays M*; 329, 11 loquuntur] *EPV loquuntur AM*; 330, 6 Erinyas] *EV erynias P eryñias AM Erinnyas R*. In the five occurrences of Orestes's name (325, 13–326, 17) *EPRV* spell it without an initial *h*; *C* spells it with an initial *h*; *AM* spell it with the aspirate in the first three cases and without the aspirate in the last two. Their complete agreement is the remarkable point.

These I take for simple scribal errors. Those which follow may be of a different nature.

- 326, 24 protinus aliam formam] *MPRV* protinus alia forma *E* potius
in aliam formam *A*
324, 19 fuerint] *A edd.* fuerunt *EMPRV*
325, 2 Lyaeam] *edd.* Lyacam *E* Lymacam *MPRV* Lyaea *C ut videtur*
λιμακην A *Λυσίκακον coni. Thilo*
329, 10 dramaticon] *PV* Drammaticon *E* Dragmaticon *M om. R.*
δραματικον A
329, 11 diegematicon] Dihegematicon *MPV* (*h del. V*) Exegematicon *E*
Διηγηματικον A om. R

In the last three passages there can be little doubt that Politian has converted the Latin letters of his exemplar into Greek as a learned gesture; and likewise *potius in* and *fuerint* may well be emendations.

For the variants which M alone exhibits see the instances given above on p. 107. These lists make it clear that, although A and M are closely related, neither is a copy of the other. They also encourage the belief that A in particular has suffered more from deliberate alterations in its text than has P.

Finally, a word about the provenience of f may prove interesting. Crinitus, the scribe of M, was the pupil of Politian, the scribe of A; and in studying the colophons of Crinitus I came across two in which he tells us that he copied, in one case the *exemplar*, and in the other the *archetypum*, of his master.¹ After two such specific statements the absence of any reference to Politian in the colophon of M gives room

¹ *Cod. Mon. Lat.* 756, fol. 46^r (at the end of the text of Apicius, *De Re coquinaria Libri X*): *Pet. Crinitus Florentiae M.ccccLxxxxv Martiis [ut videtur]./ Transcripsi P. Crinitus hunc rigum [?] ab exemplari ang. politia. praeceptoris quem ipse diligentissime emendauerat cum codice alio nicolii perotti tum et aliis./ nos ferme omnia seruauimus /ut ab ex [sed ex del.] archetypo quidem haud ungue latius disces-serimus.* And in *Mon. Lat.* 754, fol. 230^v (= 214^v; at the end of the first section of the *Adversaria*): *Exscripsi ego Pet. Crinitus florentiae idibus nouembris 1496 ex archetypo politiani praeceptoris.* It is interesting that this was written only a month after the colophon in M. Whether these books were wholly or only partially in Politian's hand makes little difference. The important consideration is that they were definitely connected with Politian and that Crinitus had access to them even after his master's death in September, 1494. Since he wrote M during this same general period (1495-1496) but made no mention of Politian, the conclusion is natural that the exemplar of M was not immediately connected with Politian.

for the theory that the exemplar of M was perhaps never actually in the possession of Politian, although of course he had access to some manuscript of Probus when he wrote the excerpts in his second Roman edition of Virgil. It is not unlikely, therefore, that Politian and Crinitus drew their texts of Probus independently from the same source. That this source was a manuscript owned by some resident of Florence would seem almost inevitable from the facts that the Florentine Crinitus explicitly made his copy in Florence in 1496 and that the Florentine Politian made use of a very similar (probably the same) text sometime before his death and very probably even before the publication of his *Miscellanea* in 1489.¹ With this situation in mind one can readily appreciate the appropriateness of f as the siglum for this Florentine exemplar of AM.

E. The Problem of C

While still at Florence let us cursorily inspect C, the fragment preserved in one of Crinitus's books and written in a hand very similar to his. Errors already discussed have marked this fragment as a member of the z family.² More exact classification than this, however, turns out to be somewhat difficult, both because of the scarcity of material and also because of the scribe's erratic tendencies.

324, 8-23 Bucolicorum — inducit] *AEMPRV* Buc. origo Xerses. Marathon. Lacedimonii (*sic*) peloponnesem. Curiatis denai. Bucolicon (*et super aliquid difficile lectu: vel bicaelistans*). Astrabicon plautus C

The almost illegible hand, the peculiar spelling³ (e.g. *Lacedimonii*; *Curiatis denai* = *Caryatidis Dianae*), and the entire nature of this disjointed string of words lead me to think that the writer made these jottings not as he perused some book but rather as he sat listening — none too intelligently — to some lecturer. The rest of the Proban text, though not quite so sadly mutilated as this section, abounds in omis-

¹ I reached these conclusions quite independently but am very glad to have the support of Gebhardt's conjecture (see p. 94, n. 2).

² I.e., 325, 8-9 (p. 100 above); 325, 11-12 and 15-16 (p. 102); 326, 1-2 (p. 103).

³ Cf. also 325, 3 pastores] *EP* pastorees C pastorum *MR om. V*; 325, 4 figuras] *AEMPR* fuguras *V* frugras C; 326, 20 Rhegina] *EPR* (*sed h suprascr. PR*) regina *VM* (*sed corr. ex regina M*) rhegnae C.

sions, and seems in at least three places to have been deliberately altered by the "lecturer."

324, 24 Gelonis] *AEPRV* Geloris *M* hieronem *C*

325, 2 Lyaeam] *edd.* Lyea *C* Lyacam *E* Lymacam *MPRV*
 λιμακην *A*

326, 14 Pecoli. Eo] Pecolieo *AMPV* pecolie *R* paccolico *E* polie eo *C*

Satisfactory errors of the sort to help in assigning *C* to some sub-family are few indeed. Only two are worth mentioning.

325, 9 erat] *AEMPV* erat *corr. ex eent R* ēēt *C*

This solitary instance does not really indicate any close relationship between *C* and *R*; the subjunctives are probably independent errors.

326, 15 dicunt] *EPRV om. AMC*

Dicunt is an important word not likely to be left out by any easy scribal error. To be sure, omissions are characteristic of *C*, but omissions rather of phrases than of single words. Here, then, is an error which can best be explained by assigning *C* to the family of *AM*. Of less importance but of similar significance are the next two passages.

325, 13 and 326, 6 Orestes] *EPRV* horestes *CMA (sed h del. A)*

For want of better evidence I attach *C* to the *f* group with an intervening *f*¹ to make allowance for the lecturer. Furthermore, certain external considerations seem to favor this classification; for the fact that the fragment is imbedded in one of the books "Petri Criniti et amicorum" and is written in a hand of that period and of that school certainly gives generous support to the conclusion founded on internal evidence. Even when the worthlessness of this defective bit has been admitted, it does help to fill out our picture of Probus at Florence, and shows how corrupt a text of Probus could become.

F. The Problem of *L* and *V*

A list of errors ¹ common to *L* and *V* alone provides clear proof of a very close kinship.

¹ Additional cases are: 381, 6-7 utique [et hei — Graeca] ii] *V* utique ei *sed inter haec verba ead. man. et "* *suprascr. et in marg.* hei — graeca: ei *L* utique ii *E* utique *P*; 382, 21 cupidius] *EP* cupidinis *LV*; 385, 1 partitionem] *EP* partionem *L^xV*;

- 377, 7 aulea] *EMP* alea *LV*
 377, 8 Domitiani] *LV om. EMP*
 378, 9 Ixionis] *EMP* exionis *LV*
 378, 9 potest] *EMP* post *LV*
 378, 10 quia] *EMP om. LV*
 378, 28-29 Tagetique — Cithaeron] *EP om. LV*
 381, 18 Alburnum] *EP* laburnum *L^xV qui in marg. habent: Primas*
 litteras mutavit pro Alburno
 385, 30 Porum] *coni. Hag.* per eum *EP* Paerea *LV* Porea *Keil*

Furthermore, it is worthy of remark that L and V alone should have in their margins certain glosses, usually learned, which are identical to a word, e.g.,¹

- 383, 15-17 Opposite these lines LV have a marginal note which reads:
 "hoc idem plinius."
 385, 1 ἀπό τοῦ μερισμοῦ] *LV (sed μερισμυ V)* a merismo *EP*
LV in marg.: μερίζω diuido μερισ ιδος particula ο μεριστησ
ου partitor
 385, 2 ὄπα] *E opa P οπην LV et in marg.: οπη ησ uox cauerna*
 foramen
 387, 30 At the end of the text L and V have this observation:
 Imperfectum et mutilum opus *L*
 Imperfectum opus et mutilum *V*

In the earlier folia of V appear here and there similar glosses which doubtless had their counterparts in L when that text of Probus was in its original form. Since we have already seen, however, that no other manuscripts exhibit glosses of this character,² we need give no time to the consideration of simple marginal headings.

Despite these points of similarity V is marred by numerous errors³ not found in L; hence L cannot be taken as a copy of V.

- 385, 2 quem Graeci vocant] *EP om. LV*; 385, 11 serpillum] serpilli *EP om. LV*;
 385, 29 aut] *EP om. LV*; 387, 21 Invisa] *EP in uisa LV*.

¹ Note also the one cited just above on *Alburnum* (381, 18). Other examples are found in connection with 383, 14-15 and 16-17; 385, 25 (see p. 112 below); 387, 17 and 19. Several of the Greek glosses will receive detailed treatment in Part IV.

² See the descriptions of the manuscripts in Part I. The one exception (324, 21-22) is discussed below on p. 134.

³ Additional cases are: 381, 11 καὶ ταύρου] *L καὶ ταυρον V* et taurus ^x*E* et tauris *P*; 381, 13 lucos] *ELP* locos *corr. ex locus V*; 381, 14 cui] *ELP* cum *V*; 381, 15 οἶστρον] *L οιστρος V* oestrum *EP Verg.*; 387, 13 Hellesponto] *ELP* Hellespontum *V*.

- 377, 1 damnum] *ELP* Daunium *V*
 377, 6 Αἰτίων] *L* αἰτίων *V* aetion *E* ętion *MP*
 377, 10 ostendant] *ELP* ostendit *P*
 381, 15 est Lucaniae] *ELP* om. *V*
 382, 15 herbam esse] *ELP* Thebam est *V*
 384, 2 venenati] *ELP* om. *V*
 385, 16 Partheniadae] *LP* Partheni inde *V* om. *E* totum locum
 386, 2 Macedoniae] *ELP* om. *V*
 387, 2 Thracia] *ELP* om. *V*

Even if it be granted that, in the parts for which *L*'s corroborating testimony is wanting, many of the errors which now appear in *V* alone were originally shared by *L*, still the lesson learned from this long list, in which the fault clearly lies in *V* alone, will inevitably come to mind in evaluating a variant of *V* or its general character. For the scribe of *V* seems not only to have erred frequently but even to have taken strange liberties with the text of his exemplar.

Although *L* demonstrably did not descend directly from *V*, is *V* perhaps a copy of *L*? The gap¹ occurring in *L* alone does not preclude this possibility, for *V* might well have been written before *L* became so damaged. Similarly there is a certain class of passages which would surely not embarrass such a theory, namely those where *V* has the correct form for *L*'s corrected form. Examples² follow.

- 378, 2 patre] *EMPV* patre *corr.* ex patris *L*
 382, 19 τραγωδουμένων] *VL* (*sed corr.* ex τραγωδουμενον *L*) tragodumenon *EP*
 383, 1 finiunt] fiunt *EPV* fiñit *et in marg.* .. fiunt *L*
 385, 25 κωρύκιον] corcyrion *P* om. *E*
 κορυκιον (*v del.*) *et in marg.* uxor promethei .η. κορυκιον (*v del.*) *L*
 κορυκιο *et in marg.* uxor promethei .η. κορυκιον *V*
 386, 25 petiisse et iterum] *V* Keil petiisse et ita *E* praeteriisse et ita *P*
 p̄reteriis et ita *sed in marg.* .. petiisse et iterum *L*

If clear proof can be produced that *V* is a copy of *L*, then such instances will fit beautifully into the picture. However, it should be

¹ See p. 91 above.

² Others are: 383, 6 utuntur] *EP* utantur *corr.* ex utuntur *L* utantur *V*; 383, 17 Acalanthis] *PV* Acalanthis *corr.* ex Acalantis *L* Achalanthis *E*; 383, 29 hibiscum] *PV* hibiscum *corr.* ex hybiscum *L* ibiscum *E*; 387, 1 Aria] *E* Arsa *PV* Arsa *corr.* ex Arsia *L*; 387, 4 vortens] *PV* vortens *corr.* ex vertens *L* vertens ²*E*.

observed that everything here is explicable also on the theory that L and V are simply derived from a common exemplar, a theory especially acceptable in cases where V agrees with P or EP. This would mean that the scribe of L had carefully corrected his work by reference to the exemplar, but that the writer of V, though he happened to copy his model correctly in the places under discussion, made plenty of other mistakes¹ which were carelessly left uncorrected. In this respect V would certainly be inferior to L.

As a matter of fact, there are a number of items which do not harmonize with the theory of V's direct derivation from L.

381, 16 primis] EV parmis LP

At first glance this appears to be a prime illustration to show that V is not a copy of L, and as such Sabbadini takes it.² The agreement, however, of both L and P (representatives of two different subfamilies) in the *lectio difficilior* makes one think that V has emended to the easier reading.³ The next case, on the contrary, is decidedly different.

387, 10 Napaeae] E Napee P*V Napiëe L

V's reading, identical with the correct one in P, differs from the incorrect one in L in two respects: the peculiar *i* and the placing of the ligature sign beneath the *e*. Someone may suggest that here the scribe of V, if he were copying from L, could easily have emended *Napiëe* with the aid of *Napaeas* which immediately precedes. But in that case what about the little hook under the *e*? For in both places L consistently writes *napee*-, while V and P with equal consistency write *nape*-. I feel that this complete disagreement between L and V precludes the possibility of V's descent from L. Ordinarily, to be sure, the mere placing of the little hook would not occasion much discussion, but as a result of the careful correction of L we have to rely upon the few errors which did escape detection.

376, 26 tanquam] M tanquam EPV tanquam tanquam L

387, 14 oppidum] EPV opidum L

¹ Cf. the list of errors occurring in V alone.

² *Historia*, VII (1933), p. 619.

³ From this, however, it does not necessarily follow that Egnatius has done the same thing, for the corruption doubtless originated in careless z.

Here are two more instances of L alone in error. Granted that in these places, if he were copying L, the scribe of V could have corrected these errors, still I see no need of making that assumption¹ when a simpler, and in some ways more acceptable, one is that L and V are closely related copies of the same exemplar.²

Moreover, one is tempted to see further indications against L's parenthood of V in the fact that V lacks two learned glosses³ which appear in L, although of course the evidence of glosses must be used with due caution and it is not impossible that these two were added to L after V had been written.⁴ Somewhat similar is the matter of punctuation. It seems significant that page after page throughout the entire fragment of L presents the appearance of a solid block of script in which lemmata and quotations are undistinguished except by the use of ordinary capitals, whereas in V the lemmata and the quotations of approximately a verse or more are regularly, though not invariably, set off by having a marginal capital and a separate line for each verse. If his exemplar distinguished verses in this fashion, a scribe might in easy disregard of such punctuation write his own copy in solid blocks of text so as to save space and time;⁵ but it is far more difficult to ac-

¹ Especially since V has the support of EP(M).

² Sabbadini (*Historia*, VII (1933), p. 619) has drawn up a list of 16 passages which are intended to show that V does not descend in a direct line from L. If in all these places L had an incorrect reading and V the correct one, we should find in them good reason for such a belief. But again, as in the case of LP above (p. 106, n. 1) Sabbadini has followed the dangerous practice of citing the variants of only the two manuscripts under discussion. Had he given *all* the evidence, he would have seen clearly that in 14 out of the 16 cases L agrees with EP(M) in the *correct* reading while V alone is in error. The two remaining passages are 378, 11 (praeter] EV per MP pēr L), where it can be demonstrated that in all probability L had the corrected reading *praeter* in the margin (now damaged) and 381, 16, which has been discussed above (p. 113). Neither of these, then, can be used to prove the point; and certainly the other 14 cases are excellent ones to show that L is not a copy of V, but they do not prove that V is not a copy of L. Perhaps Sabbadini would claim that in all these cases L is in error and V has the 'correct' reading because V is "il codice più autorevole." If so, he is relying simply on an hypothesis which he has frequently stated, to be sure, but never, it seems to me, adequately demonstrated.

³ I.e., on 377, 2 (*Nemaea instituta li. iiii Thebaidis*) and 378, 4 (*Varia historia*).

⁴ But I can see no indications of their having been added at a later time.

⁵ P seems to illustrate this beautifully. Throughout the first 8 folia (= Hagen, pp. 324-338, 22) P regularly agrees with MV. Except in a few cases all three allow

count for the introduction of such punctuation if the exemplar did not have it. The scribe of V, then, can scarcely have had L as his model, unless he allowed himself great license in punctuation.¹

In the light of these various considerations it seems best to say that neither L nor V is a copy of the other but that they are *gemelli*, twin offspring of a now lost parent.² This lost parent we may label z².

Despite Thilo's rather brusque disposal of L as valueless for critical purposes, this same L has proved to be decidedly helpful in the formation of a nicer estimate of the worth of V; for in passages preserved by both, L becomes a touchstone with which to test the character of its twin. Since a surprising number of errors appear in V alone as a result either of carelessness or of deliberate change, I cannot avoid the conclusion that not only in the last few pages of Probus but also, doubtless, throughout the entire work the scribe of V was not so diligent nor so faithful as we could wish. Consequently, I cannot subscribe to Sabbadini's declaration of faith in the superiority of this manuscript above all others. Rather, when V alone presents a certain variant, I shall have less confidence in such a reading than in that of any of the other important codices.

G. The Problem of RGB

It remains to classify the last three members of this large family. R is a strange and somewhat annoying manuscript. Many passages³ show that it belongs to the group headed by z; but any attempt to

a marginal capital and a separate line for each verse quoted. On foll. 8^v-13^r such distinction becomes very rare in P, and from 13^v to the end it disappears entirely save at the beginning of a new book. In contrast MV agree with few exceptions in the preservation of this distinction throughout the text of Probus and thus suggest that z (and doubtless x¹) presented a similar appearance.

¹ Although I have studied the subject with some care, I do not think that its importance is great enough to require a detailed report. If, however, someone should argue that the scribe of V might have been able to derive hints for his punctuation from the capitalization within V's solid blocks of text, let me say that in 42 out of the 49 available passages the scribe of V could have found a hint for his punctuation just as well in P or M as in L, and in at least 2 cases could find nothing in L to suggest the form in V.

² Actually for our purposes it makes no vital difference whether V is a copy or a twin of L.

³ See sections A and B above.

allocate R more exactly should be preceded by a study of the variants peculiar to R alone.

- 323, 4 Andico] *BEGMPV* Andino *R*
 324, 9 Graeciam] *V* Graecias *EPM* regnum *R*
 324, 12 religiosior] *AEMPV* (relligiosior *A*) religiosum *R*
 324, 12 cura] *AEMPV* tunc *R*
 324, 12 colendae] *AEMPV* solemne *R*
 325, 6 certato] *AEMPV* certantes *R*
 325, 19 posito] *AEMPV* pontico *R* pos. *C*
 328, 6 componere] *AEMPV* incidere *R Verg.*
 336, 20 sacrum] *EMPV* sacrarium *R*

These variants ¹ may not all come under the head of arbitrary alterations, but certainly the greater part of them is to be so classified. I am the more inclined to this view because in the difficult passage at p. 325, 8-9 the scribe of R has been caught in the very act of emending² *cumque* to *isque* in an attempt to make the reading easier.

On the other hand, the exemplar of R seems to have been damaged at points, for in the very middle of a sentence the scribe of R has a number of times ³ left a blank space for a word or two where apparently he found the text undecipherable.

- 325, 18 traiecit] *ACEMPV* om. *R* lacuna *VII fere litterarum relicta*
 326, 24 attendit] *AEMPV* om. *R* lac. *unius versus relicta*

There are, however, larger gaps which sometimes, at least, were not occasioned by a faulty exemplar, for the scribe tells us that he has intentionally omitted a section of the text. Thus as he leaves a blank

¹ Others are: 324, 1 damnat] *BMPV* damnasset *R* cauisset *E*; 325, 17 Rheginorum] *ACEMPV* (sed rhiginorum *C*) regionis *R*; 326, 6 fuisse ensem] *ACEMPV* fuit et ensis *R*; 334, 29 Heracleoni] *EMPV* (sed Eracleoni *E*) Hera-
 cleonti *R*; 335, 2 sublevare] *EMPV* sursum leuari *R*.

² See p. 100 above. *Incidere* (328, 6) also is interesting. Probably *componere* was at some time written as a gloss on *incidere* either to explain the less common expression or to call attention to *Buc.* 3, 108, and by the time of x¹ it had become incorporated into the text. This, then, makes another to be added to the list of common errors. Since *componere* makes easy and excellent sense, *incidere* of R cannot be regarded as a change to the easier reading, but must be a learned emendation or at least a learned gloss incorporated. To this extent R's text is untrustworthy in spite of its apparently correct form in this case.

³ Additional examples are: 333, 15 *φερέσβιος*; 336, 19 quo auspiciati sunt.

space of 10 lines for Hagen, p. 334, 8-21, he says:¹ *Omissimus de Aere quae dicuntur a Cicerone de Natura Deorum*. At other times he has no note concerning space left for omitted text² or he has not even left a space to indicate such a lacuna.³ Inspection of the other parts of *Vat. Lat.* 7179 written by the same hand⁴ reveals numerous lacunae of a similar sort. Perhaps R, somewhat like C, is to be regarded as the work of some student. At any rate, from the evidence so far presented R must be branded as lacunose and corrupt. In fact, R seems the very model of faultiness which certain critics must have had in mind when they composed their charges against Egnatius.

There still remains the question whether R is a sort of free-lance text in the camp of z or is an acknowledged member of some well-established group within that larger division. The answer to the question depends chiefly upon the interpretation of the passages which follow.

- 330, 10-11 plures fuerint] *P* plures fuerunt *RV* pluerint *M* fuerint *E*
 331, 10 novam generationem] *MP* παλιγγενεσιαν *E* *Keil om. RV*
 (sed lacuna relicta *V*)
 331, 10 futuram] *EMP* futura corr. ex futuram *V* futura *R*

The first and the third cases can easily be explained as scribal variants. The second will be discussed at length among the Greek passages in Part IV; I do not attach any special significance to the similarity of R and V here. These are the only cases, to my knowledge, which can be taken to indicate a close relationship between these two manuscripts. For a grouping of R with P or M there are no grounds. What, however, is to be said about E?

- 325, 16-17 cum a Taurice . . . repetisset] *ACMP* (sed pro repetisset aliquid difficile lectu *C*)
 cum Taurice . . . reperisset *V* *Keil* (Tauricae *Keil*)
 cum in Taurica . . . reperisset *ER* (sed quum *E*)

¹ Similarly 329, 10-16 (*omne — versu*), where we have a marginal note but no blank space; 331, 5-7 (*Inscripti — disco*) where he uses a flourish equivalent to *etc.*

² E.g., 332, 24-333, 8 (*Hic — ait. Et*), gap of 6 lines; 335, 12-18 (*quem — εἰχοι*), gap of 1 line; 336, 22-24 (*qui — expoliverat*), gap of 2 lines.

³ E.g., 331, 28-332, 3 (*ne — versu*); 333, 19-20 (*οὐρανὸς — χάος*); 335, 8 (*sive Deum*).

⁴ E.g., *Ex Victoriani Grammatici opusculo de Orthographia* (foll. 166^r-167^r) and *Ex Carisio* [sic] (foll. 167^r-172^r).

It is to be noted that in lines 19 and 21 of page 325 E agrees with the rest in the form *Taurice*, while R alone reads *Taurica*. The fact that in all three cases R is consistent in its disagreement with all members of the z group seems to argue a deliberate change¹ of z's threefold *Taurice*. On the other hand, the very fact that Egnatius prints *Taurica* the first time and *Taurice* in the two subsequent places shows that he was not trying to "improve" what he had before him, especially since *Taurice* is the *lectio difficilior*. I suggest, therefore, that in x¹ or some ancestor thereof the *Taurica* of 325, 16 was glossed with a Greek form transliterated (e.g., Ταυρικη *Taurice*), that in x¹ this *Taurice* replaced the *Taurica* of lines 19 and 21, and that in z it replaced *Taurica* in all three instances. *In* and *reperisset* I accept as the correct² reading of x¹ and z. Consequently there is no basis of agreement in error upon which one can establish any close relationship between R and E.

331, 17 Penelopae] penelope V Pennelope MP (-pę M) Penelopes ER

The more difficult reading and therefore probably the correct one has been preserved by ER. *Penelopes* survived in both x¹ and z but in the latter it was glossed with *Penelopae*. This state of affairs would account for both forms in the z family without requiring direct connection between E and R. Incidentally, the agreement of MP in the error of the double *n* is to be noted.

335, 20 effusa] MPV infusa *ER Verg.

I believe that x¹ had *totamque ifusa*, which led z into the easy scribal error of *totamque effusa*. This the scribe of R or his teacher, quite in accordance with his emendatory nature and his flair for the learned,

¹ Our previous experience with R has led us to expect this very thing. Note also that Keil, too, in his text prints *Taurica*, apparently as being the normal Latin form and consequently preferable.

² Note that with the additional support of V's testimony we may say that z had *reperisset*, which the scribe of z¹ (cf. ACMP) easily enough confused with *repetisset*. With *repetisset* the natural preposition is *a*; with *reperisset* the normal construction is the locative or *in* and the ablative. After the initial error of *repetisset* it was easy for someone to change *in* to *a* in z¹, whence the reading of ACMP. ERV are correct in all essentials, and RV derive their reading from z.

corrected by the aid of Virgil to *totamque infusa*. There is, however, no reason to suspect Egnatius of emendation.¹

On the basis of these three passages some may wish to call R a manuscript of the z group but one showing signs of conflation with E; and for such a theory there is no difficulty of date, because Mercati's estimate places R in the 16th century. Really it makes no great difference either way; but since the erratic nature of R's text and its descent² from z are sufficient to account for all three variants, I should draw no line of connection between R and E. In fine, R is to be regarded as a free lance in the z camp.

G does not require much attention; for, while it is interesting to note the use of Probus in this commentary, the excerpts are too few and frequently too much altered to permit more than a general classification. Variants appearing in G alone are:

- 323, 5 milia passuum] *BE* mil. pas. *PMV* milib. pass. *R*
pass. mill. *G* passuum milibus *Cen.*³
323, 11 liberali in ocio] *BMPRV* liberali ocio *G* In ocio *E*
(illa) liberalis fuit. In otio *Cen.*
323, 12 sectam] *BEMPRV* sententiam *G* dogma *Cen.*
358, 14 autem] *EMPV* .n. *G*
358, 15 adhibetur] *EMPV* adhibentur *G*
358, 15 in sacris Cereris arcanae] *EMPV* in sacris arcane cereris Eleu-
sinae *G*

These illustrate the peculiarities of G; the next two errors show that G belongs to the z family.

- 358, 12 autem] *E* enim *GMPV*
358, 13 cantho] *E* cantu *GMPV*

This is as far as we can go until we take up the important case of *pascua rura duces* below in connection with B. So far no evidence warrants the close connection of G with any other descendant of z.

¹ In fact, quite the opposite when we consider the case of 328, 6 (*componere*] *AEMPV* incidere *R Verg.*), which completely justifies the attitude here taken; see above p. 116, n. 2.

² Possibly an exemplar should be placed between R and z to help to account for R's peculiarities, but for want of definite evidence I shall omit it.

³ Cynthius Cenetensis. I shall make no separate study of his *Life*, because it represents essentially the same tradition as that of G.

The ultimate derivation of B from z has already been shown.¹ For further classification there is only one important passage and this involves GRV as well.

323, 21 pascua rura duces] *EMP Cen. edd.*; *Donatus Hieronymus*
 pascua poma duces *BGR*
 pascua poma Phruges *V Sabbadini* (*sed Phryges Sabb.*)

Both Donatus² and St. Jerome³ quote this epitaph, and Rand has keenly observed that "with a copy of Suetonius before him from which he took notices of the eminent Romans" St. Jerome "would hardly turn to Donatus on reaching the year for a mention of Virgil. St. Jerome and Donatus, therefore, are independent witnesses to the text of Suetonius."⁴ That establishes our external evidence for *rura duces* on a firm foundation.⁵ In the second place, if Virgil was the author⁶ of this epitaph, we may well ask which of the three variants is most Virgilian. The words *poma Phruges* (= *Phryges*) lack force and flavor when compared with *rura duces*: *rura* far better suggests the varied activities of the country life depicted in the *Georgics*, and *duces* is certainly a more powerful expression for the mighty literary medium through which the poet insistently proclaimed to his fellow-citizens the gospel of their fated mission to tame brute force and spread in its place law and peace among the nations of the earth. Surely Virgil would have emphasized not so much nationality as ca-

¹ See p. 104 above.

² J. Brummer, *Vitae Vergilianae*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 8.

³ A. Schoene, *Eusebi Chroniconum Libri duo*, Berlin, 1866, II, p. 143, § k on the year 1999.

⁴ *H. S. C. P.* XLIV (1933), pp. 69-70, n. 6.

⁵ In favor of *pascua rura duces* the evidence of Servius, too, can now be added, as will be made clear in the new edition of Servius being prepared by Savage, Smith, and Waldrop; for it happens that, instead of having a lacuna, as do the other manuscripts of Servius, after l. 22 on p. 3 (vol. I of Thilo's edition), *Vat. Lat.* 3317 preserves the epitaph of Virgil, heretofore noted only in the *libri recentiores*.

⁶ Sabbadini with characteristic reliance upon V not only decides that Probus wrote *poma Phryges* but even disposes of the tradition of Virgilian authorship with a picturesque flourish (*Historia*, VI (1932), p. 94): "con la nuova redazione dell' epitaffio *Mantua me genuit* essa (= la biografia virgiliana di Probo) dà il colpo di grazia anche alla fandonia di Donato e Girolamo, che l'avesse dettato Virgilio stesso." Rather it seems to me that those two "independent witnesses" may well be relied upon to administer the *colpo di grazia* to Sabbadini's own monster of heresy.

capacity for leadership. On two scores, then, the reading *rura duces* has the support of the external evidence.

But what stood in x^1 ? Sabbadini, of course, in his conviction that V has faithfully reported that archetype, declares¹ that EMP and Cenetensis have imported *rura duces* (from Donatus) to replace the original *poma Phryges*, although B in its *poma* still preserves some trace of the reading of Probus. But if *Phryges* so displeased the scribes of B and R that they sought the aid of Donatus, why did they not copy off *rura* at the same time? No, it is far more likely that the text of x^1 and z preserved *rura duces* and that *poma* was added in z as a gloss on *rura*, perhaps by some reader who amused himself with the concoction of this 'learned' variant.² This state of affairs would easily account both for the *rura duces* of E and MP and for the *poma duces* of BGR. The reading *poma duces* appeared also in z^2 , where the *duces* was glossed with *Phryges*, so easily suggested by the words just below (324, 5): *Phrygium quae cecinere ducem*. Hence the scribe of V with characteristic carelessness derived his *Phruges*.³

Inasmuch as BGRV all have essentially the same incorrect variant at this point, perhaps they should be assigned to a common exemplar intermediate between them and z. On the other hand, since this is the only passage in which R shows any peculiar relation to V; since the evidence from B and G is very limited; and since everything can be explained⁴ by the assumption of a gloss *poma* in z and the addition of *Phryges* in the exemplar of V, I propose the following stemma, in

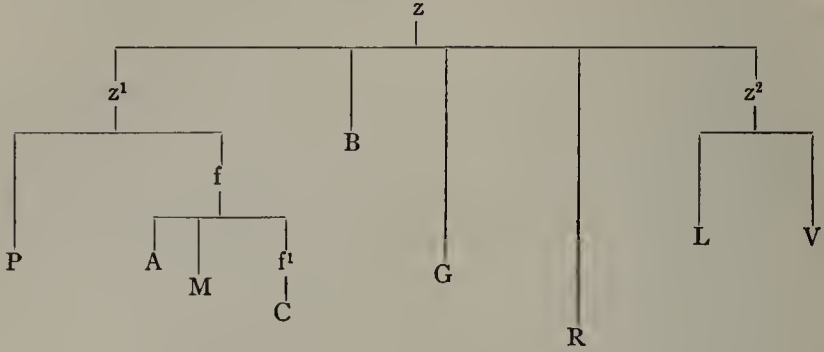
¹ *Historia*, VI (1932), p. 94. And cf. in *Boll. di Filol. class.*, N.S., III (1932), p. 136, A. G. Amatucci's severe review of Mario di Martino's superficial article "La Vita di Virgilio scritta da M. Valerio Probo," *Samnium*, V (1932), pp. 181-187.

² *Poma* can hardly be regarded as an ordinary explanatory gloss.

³ Concerning the suggestion that *Phruges* equals *fruges* Amatucci well says: "Anderebbe tutto bene, se potessimo ammettere che Virgilio ignorasse che l'*u* di *fruges* è lungo!" It is conceivable that *poma fruges* might have been a sort of double gloss on *rura* but the explanation given above in the text seems the more natural. Although other refinements have come to mind, it is unwise to attempt too great precision in such matters.

⁴ As above. The fact that the scribe of z^1 (PM) so easily preserved the correct *rura* may indicate that *poma* was written into z after the scribe of z^1 had used it and before the scribes of the other codices took it for their exemplar. Such an assumption, however, is not necessary.

which BGR trace their descent directly ¹ from *z*. The irregular placement of the codices is simply a rough attempt to indicate their relative dates so far as they are known or can be estimated.



With the construction of this stemma the initial study of the *z* family is complete. It remains to make final disposition of *E*, which, though clearly not a descendant of *z*, is nevertheless a relative of *z* through *x*¹. Of course, as we have seen, *E* has faults faithfully preserved from *x*¹; and, furthermore, it should cause no surprise to learn that Egnatius and his assistants made occasional mistakes themselves.

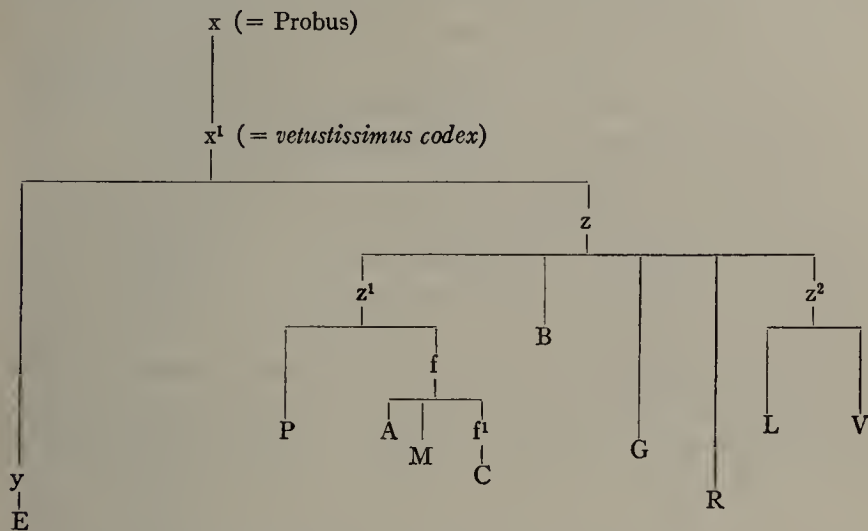
- 327, 8 rerum] *AMPRV* eorum ^{*E}
 330, 14 adsiduus] *V* assiduus *MPR* ad sidotis *E*
 341, 2-3 Adfuerit—si] *MPV* om. *E*
 368, 18 et intraturo] intraturo *MPV* et Iuro *E*
 385, 9-10 genus herbae] *PLV* herbae genus quod herbae *E*

Such mistakes, however,² are the kind commonly committed by scribe and printer. Other errors in *E* will come up for discussion later.

¹ Actually one or more exemplars probably came between *G* and *R* and their archetype *z*. The general similarity between the *Life* by Cenetensis and that in *G* points to Leto's lectures as the source of both (cf. Sabbadini, *Historia*, VII (1933), p. 616), and doubtless some of *R*'s variants are due to an intermediate source; but since the material is too scanty for a demonstration and since these considerations are really not vital, I prefer the simpler diagram.

² Others are: 333, 12 'liquido'] *MPV* liquenti ^{*E} om. *R*; 349, 14 maturet] *MPV* muturet *E*; 369, 14 oculorum] *MPV* colorum *E*; 377, 22 Persicum] *MPLV* prassum ^{*E}; 383, 21-22 -que — cressam] *PLV* om. ^{*E}; 386, 20-21 est — mare ab] *PLV* om. ^{*E}.

Between x^1 and E Rand would place an intervening exemplar y to make allowance for the possibility of a printer's copy.¹ Even if no positive proof can be adduced, still, in spite of Conway's objections, the theory seems a logical one;² and I shall include y , though it is no vital matter either way. At last, therefore, the time has come to graft E on the family tree and to sketch that tree in its final form.



III. THE QUOTATIONS FROM CICERO

Realizing that it would be impossible within these limits to present a detailed discussion of all variants, I have decided to select the three long quotations from Cicero³ and to consider carefully *all* readings of

¹ C. Q. XXVI (1932), p. 7, n. 2.

² Compare, for example, the case of Parrasio, who in preparing his 1507 edition of the *Instituta* and the *Catholica* of Probus copied off some old books at Bobbio: *quare nos iisdem quibus ante Merula uestigiis ad interceptae praedae cubile deducti libros iam putres exscripsimus. Incredibile (sic) quanto labore propter obsoletas ueterum litterarum notas et iam temporis iniuria uanescentium.* Galbiato probably made similar transcripts (see Mercati, *Prolegomena*, pp. 88 and 115; also Gebhardt, *Zentralblatt*, V (1888), pp. 354-355). No positive statement can be made about Egnatius's ownership of his *vetustissimus codex*.

³ Hagen, p. 334, 12-21 (= Cic. *N. D.* 2, 66); pp. 339, 17-340, 8 (= *N. D.* 2, 117-118); pp. 342, 23-343, 8 (= *N. D.* 2, 68-69). There is also a fourth quotation (p. 341, 5-7) which I have passed over as small and unimportant.

these well-defined passages in order that, by giving a complete cross-section of each of the chief codices,¹ I may escape the charge of favoritism toward any particular group. These same passages prove to be of supreme importance for two further reasons. In the first place, they serve as an external standard quite independent of Probus by which we may thoroughly test the fidelity and the accuracy of E and the members of the z group in their report of the archetype x¹. In the second place, there survive no fewer than 18 manuscripts² of the *De Natura Deorum*, of which 10, together with 2 incunabula,³ are dated in the fifteenth century, so that Egnatius had abundant sources upon which to draw in case he desired to 'improve' his text. A careful examination of these pages should make it apparent whether or not Egnatius really did correct these quotations in Probus by reference to some text of Cicero — a consideration of prime significance, for if, in circumstances where emendation would have been so simple and so natural, our humanistic editor has with Stoic resistance to such temptation faithfully transcribed his ancient codex just as he found it, are we not bound to respect Egnatius's editorial integrity in other parts as well, unless positive proof to the contrary can be brought forward?

A. *Places where E agrees with MPV against Cicero*

When EMPV are united in their testimony, they obviously indicate what was the reading of x¹. In such cases z and E must stand or fall together.

342, 23 nominata, eadem Lucina] EMPV
 nominata sit; eadem enim est Lucina Cic.⁴

There can be no doubt that EMPV here present the *lectio difficilior*. Consequently, if Egnatius had had a mania for emendation, why did

¹ Whatever their defects, EMPV are our chief sources for the text of Probus because they are the ones most nearly complete.

² See J. B. Mayor, *M. Tullii Ciceronis De Natura Deorum Libri tres*, Cambridge, 1891 (vol. I) and 1889 (vol. II).

³ Printed at Rome, 1471, and Venice, 1471, respectively.

⁴ *Cic.* will stand for all the codices of Cicero not otherwise cited. When necessary to refer to specific manuscripts, I shall use the sigla of J. B. Mayor, who, incidentally, employs bold-faced type to distinguish the manuscripts of the British

he not supply the words *sit* and *enim est* from some Ciceronian source or possibly from his own head?

339, 27 peraltae] peraltae *EMPV* altae *Cic.* alitae **HNU** allotae **V**

Although *peraltae* as a participle appears, so far as I am aware, in no other place, Probus may have preserved a form superior¹ actually to that of Cicero's own witnesses.² Be that as it may, we again find that E no less than z has faithfully preserved the somewhat peculiar, and consequently difficult, reading of x¹.

339, 21 conglobata] *EMPV*, *G et edd. Cic.* globata *cet. codd. Cic.*

Again the superiority of the Proban reading is to be noted.

334, 14 ei] *EMVP* (*sed ei corr. ex eis P*) et *Cic.* et ei *Mayor* ei et *Heind.*
340, 5 remearet] *Cic.* remaneret **EMPV*

These cases and nine³ similar ones do not require detailed comment. Certainly a number of them represent errors in the text of x¹. In any event, the variants cited throughout this section make a truly impressive list to show that Egnatius faithfully reported his ancient codex and did not desert it for any manuscript or edition of Cicero even when x¹ had the more difficult reading.

Museum collated by Swainson. A comma will separate the codices of Probus from those of Cicero.

¹ Cicero was, for example, very fond of the intensive prefix *per-* (see Merguet's *Lexica*).

² A number of considerations lead me to believe that these passages, which are too long to have been quoted from memory, may well have been copied from some ancient codex of Cicero between the 1st and the 5th centuries, so that the manuscripts of Probus and of Cicero may be regarded as essentially two independent groups of witnesses.

³ 334, 12 inquit] *EMPV* autem *Cic.*; 339, 26 aluntur] *Cic.* alantur *EMPV*; 340, 1 paulum] *EMPV*, **MRV** paululum *Cic.*; 340, 1 ignis] *Cic.* ignes *EMPV*; 340, 6 itaque] *EMPV* ita *Cic.*; 340, 8 idemque] *EMPV* atque idem *Cic.*; 342, 24 apud nos] *EMPV* apud nostros *Cic.* apud nostras **B**; 343, 1 aut plerumque] *EMPV*; **UY** aut ut plerumque *Cic.* aut ut plurimique **C**; 343, 2 nominati] *EMPV* nominantur *Cic.*

B. *Places where E agrees partly with MPV and partly with Cicero*

- 342, 26-27 quod semper vagatur tamquam venantibus] MPV
 quod in septem vagatur tanquam venatibus ^xE¹
 quod in septem numeratur tamquam vagantibus Cic.²

The reading of the manuscripts of Cicero appears to be quite sound and satisfactory; and doubtless this same one stood in the earliest exemplars of the Proban text, for the senseless combinations in E and MPV can best be explained as corruptions of it. Inasmuch as both E and MPV agree in having *vagatur* in place of *numeratur* and *venantibus* in place of *vagantibus*, their archetype x¹ must have exhibited the same errors. To go back still further, I believe that in some ancestor of x¹ the scribe, in copying the originally correct Ciceronian reading, corrupted it by writing *venantibus* for *vagantibus*, an easy substitution of similar words under the influence of the preceding *venando*. Then in order that the etymology of *omni-vaga* might be more apparent, someone substituted *vagatur* in the place of *numeratur* or else entered it as a gloss; and thus originated the reading in x¹: *in septem vagatur tanquam venantibus* — the very words which E has faithfully preserved. As a final step, the scribe of z, or perhaps some reader, in his desire to emphasize the full force of *omni-vaga* found it a simple matter to alter *in septem* to the *semper* which survives in MPV. If, on the other hand, the opponents of Egnatius are tempted to argue that the editor simply turned to one of the many texts of Cicero for the phrase *in septem*, let it be observed that, since this expression is considerably less in harmony with the context than *semper*, Egnatius would scarcely have been content merely to take over these two difficult words and to deny himself the rest of the reading, which is so superior to his own. Such certainly is not the procedure of a zealous emendator. This passage, then, is very instructive: EMPV have errors in common; z contains an attempt at emendation, but Egnatius faithfully preserves the more difficult reading of x¹ without any move to correct it, although the circumstances are exactly those in which we should most

¹ The printer simply omitted a stroke of abbreviation over the *a* of *venatibus*, and in discussing the passage I shall cite E as having *venantibus*.

² The only variants are *numeretur* in HLU¹ and *sideribus examinatur* for *numeratur* in C.

expect such correction. In fact, because of this very fidelity to an exemplar superior to the one followed by MPV, the reading of E, despite its errors, is closer to the correct form and should be taken as the starting point for a reconstruction of the text. Cases like this convince me of Egnatius's integrity and of the consequent superiority of his text as compared with that of MPV.

340, 7-8 quo rursum animante ac de eo revocatio] *MPV Keil*
 a quo rursum animante ac de eo renovatio *E*
 a quo rursum animante ac deo renovatio *Cic.*
 a quo rursum animante ac deo revocatio *HV₁*

Here, too, the codices of Cicero preserve the true reading, the one which in all probability appeared in the original text of Probus. Once again E shares in a common error with MPV in the words *ac de eo* but excels them in two details: *a quo* and *renovatio*. This excellence, as in the previous instance¹ is attributable not to emendation but to Egnatius's conscientious transcription of an exemplar superior to z.

C. Places where E agrees with Cicero against MPV

339, 25 aquarumque reliquarum] *MPV Keil* aquarum ^x*E, Cic.*
 aquarumque reliquarum *Mayor Goethe*

There is no doubt that E and the Ciceronian codices offer the more difficult reading, which, however, can be defended. If Egnatius had come upon the easier expression *aquarumque reliquarum* in x¹, are we to suppose that he abandoned it to follow a more difficult one? Rather let us say that x¹ provided only *aquarum* to which *-que reliquarum* were attached by someone who desired to improve the passage.

342, 28 quod maturescunt] *E, B¹C¹ om. MPV*
 quod ii maturescunt [*A*] *B²V²V¹* (quodi *V¹*) *E* (quo dy *E*) *RV*
Mayor
 quod hi maturescunt *C² HO Oxf.*
 quod immaturescunt *B* quod dii maturescunt *L*

¹ Similarly 339, 28 aether refundunt] *edd. Cic.* aether refundat *Cic.* aether effundat ^x*E, ed. Ascen.* aether effundunt *Keil* aethere fiunt *MP* aethere sunt: Fiunt *V*; 340, 2-3 venturum putant nostri id] *MPV* nostri venturum putant id ^x*E* even-turum nostri putant id *Cic.*

I see no reason to suppose that Egnatius derived his *quod maturescunt* either from his own conjecture or from any Ciceronian manuscript;¹ the only logical supposition is that E simply preserves the reading of the archetype which the scribe of z carelessly omitted.

- 334, 16 illo] *MP* eo ^x*E*, *Cic.* om. *V*
 340, 4 postremum] *MPV* extremum ^x*E*, *Cic.*

In neither case is the reading such that Egnatius would have been eager to alter it had *illo* or *postremum* appeared in x¹. Since Egnatius had no motive for emendation, again his fidelity to his superior exemplar has guaranteed us a purer tradition than that of *MPV* drawn from an inferior exemplar.²

- 339, 24 noceri] *E*, *Cic.* doceri *MPV*
 340, 1 astrorum] *E*, *Cic.* praeteritorum *MPV*

Like these two passages are five others³ in which, if Egnatius has the superior reading with the codices of Cicero, it is again because of a more accurate report of x¹ and not because of deliberate change.

So far, then, in this section we have 11 cases in which E agrees quite independently with the manuscripts of Cicero, sometimes in the more difficult reading, sometimes in the easier one, but always, I believe, in the correct one. There remain four places in which even the witnesses of the Ciceronian tradition do not tell a unified story.

- 339, 18 aetheria] *MPV*, *Cic.* aether ^x*E*, **RU** aethera **CHO¹MV** aetherea **V₁**
 339, 21 nisu] *MV*, *Cic.* nixu ^x*EP*, **RV** iussu **N**
 339, 28 itidem] *MPV*, *A²* in idem ^x*E*, **CMLV Oxf. UY** in diem **HN**
 indidem *A¹[BCEPV]* **B** inde **O** in Idiem **R**
 339, 28 trahunt] *MPV*, *Cic.* trahant *E*, *G Asc.* trahat **HR**

¹ Surely if he had turned to any such source for *quod maturescunt*, he would also have adopted the superior readings at other points in this passage.

² *Eo* may have been omitted by z (cf. *V*) and *illo* supplied by z¹. *Postremum* may be an instance of the scribal error of substituting a similar word.

³ 334, 15 est aeris] *MPV* est aetheris *E*, *Cic.*; 339, 18 summum] *MPV* suum ^x*E*, *Cic.*; 339, 21 se] *E*, *Cic.* sic *MPV*; 340, 5 neque] *E*, *Cic.* atque *MPV*; 342, 28 effecerit] *MPV* efficeret ^x*E*, *Cic.*

Those readings in which MPV are backed by the majority of the Ciceronian witnesses (e.g., *aetheria*¹) may well be the correct ones. The resultant errors in E seem merely scribal or typographical, a view which receives corroboration from the very confusion among the manuscripts² of Cicero himself. Certainly the opponents of Egnatius would hardly wish to rest a charge of emendation on such variants as these.

D. *Variants peculiar to E alone and to V alone*

- 340, 2 consumat] *MPV, Cic.* consument *E consumit *Lamb. edd.*
 342, 24 eamque] *MPV, Cic.* eandemque *E
 342, 26 omnivaga] *MPV, Cic.* anniuaga *E noctiuaga V₁

Here,³ too, I believe that we are dealing with scribal errors of the accidental sort — the modification of forms under the influence of the context or through confusion of letters. *Omninuaga* and *anniuaga*, for instance, are decidedly similar in form and in sound. If the text of E is not flawless, at least the errors are not of the vicious sort.

- 339, 20 extremitate] *EMP, Cic.* eternitate V
 339, 26–27 excitantur] *EMP, Cic.* concitantur V

These two variants probably illustrate once again the scribal error of substituting similar words.

With the disposal of these last two cases it can be said that all the Ciceronian variants have been presented for discussion and classification, and the results have well rewarded the effort. For this study

¹ This is really the only important one in the group and it is in all probability an independent scribal error traceable to y or to the printer. *Nisu* and *nixu* are scarcely worth mentioning. We should expect the incunabula printed at Rome and at Venice in 1471 to be the text of Cicero most easily accessible to Egnatius, yet in all these three long quotations these two insignificant variants are the only ones where E shows any likeness to R or V.

² Most conspicuously in the case of *itidem* (339, 28); compare the similar case in 352, 11 (*indidem*] *in idem EMPV ibidem Keil*), where the form is clearly traceable to x¹. Perhaps in the present instance E preserves the form of x¹, the *in-* of which was corrupted to *it-* by z.

³ Other instances are: 339, 24–25 *quocirca*] *Cic.* quae circa E quod circa *MPV*; 339, 28 *ursum*] *MPV, Cic.* rursus *E; 334, 20 *Πλούτων*] E *Pluton MPV*. Note that in the first case neither E nor z has the support of Cicero; in *Πλούτων* it is very likely that E simply reflects x¹ (cf. Part IV on the Greek passages).

has yielded evidence¹ that the Proban tradition of Cicero is older than, or at least independent of, that of the extant manuscripts of Cicero, so that each may be used as a check on the other. Furthermore, the variant readings have constantly put the stemma to the test and it has always proved adequate to the occasion. To our attention have come new instances of common error in E and z attributable to x¹ and new proof to justify the grouping MPV into a family descended from z. Similarly E has agreed with z in so many difficult or corrupt places as to demonstrate conclusively that Egnatius had recourse neither to Cicero nor to his own conjecture in editing these three quotations. Hence the numerous correct readings which appear in his edition alone among the Proban sources mark his exemplar as superior to that of MPV, and force us to a full realization of the handicap imposed on MPV at the very outset by this z, for obviously no copy can be superior to its exemplar except by conflation or emendation. Finally, if Egnatius was so resolute when the temptation to correct could have been so easily satisfied, shall we not be inclined to trust him elsewhere? In a word, Egnatius's text represents a more accurate exemplar more accurately transmitted.

IV. THE GREEK PASSAGES

In order to subject the several witnesses to even further examination, I shall now consider the manner in which each has reported the Greek phrases and longer quotations. One general observation should be made at the outset, namely, that while MPV and their related manuscripts often agree with E in preserving single words or short phrases, it is E alone which provides the Greek for passages that continue beyond the limits of a single line. Let us consider these cases first and then proceed to those in which z and its family can provide definite evidence for the testing of E's report.

A. *Greek Passages preserved in E alone*

Inasmuch as all the manuscripts derived from z regularly show gaps at the same points, it is reasonable to suppose that similar ones ap-

¹ Cf. *peraltae*, *conglobata*, and *ei et*.

peared in z. Moreover, since these lacunae in z match the Greek in E, we have two types of evidence for something in their common archetype. In the light of the previous discussion the natural inference is that that something was actually the Greek which survives in E alone and that it was the careless, and perhaps hurried, scribe of z who did not want to bother¹ with the longer quotations in that difficult tongue. In fact, this becomes something more than an inference when Rand emphasizes the fact that E is the only source² for the excerpt from Euripides's *Cadmus* given on p. 333, 19-20 Hagen. Since, therefore, Egnatius could scarcely have invented these lines and since he could have supplied them from no other source than x¹, I maintain with confidence that his text shows Greek instead of a gap, as in MPV, because he gave a more faithful report of his old codex than did z.

A very interesting example of a shorter section is the following.

331, 10 novam generationem] MP παλιγγενεσιαν E Keil om. R (sine lac.) om. V lacuna in textu relicta sed in marg.: Nouam generationem

Who can question the appropriateness³ of the term and of its Greek form? Even so, had the Latin form of MP stood in the text of his exemplar, Egnatius would have had no motive for emendation, because *novam generationem* is quite sufficient and really gives no suggestion of a Greek equivalent. In fact, only one hypothesis seems adequate to account for all the variants and that is to posit παλιγγενεσιαν⁴ in the text of x¹ and *novam generationem* in the margin as a gloss. Egnatius faithfully copied the text just as it stood but rightly paid no attention to the marginal gloss. Z, on the other hand, left a space in the text for the Greek word and copied only the marginal gloss, a state of affairs plainly reflected in V and clearly hinted in R, where the gap has been carelessly disregarded and the gloss omitted. The scribe of z¹ simply used the gloss to stop the gap, so that we find a completely

¹ A similar case is that of R, the scribe of which, as we have seen, omits even long passages of Latin for apparently some such reason.

² C. Q. XXVI (1932), p. 8.

³ E.g., cf. Philo, *De Aeternitate Mundi*, 14, 47: τὰς ἐκπυρώσεις καὶ τὰς παλιγγενεσίας . . . τοῦ κόσμου; and Cicero, *Ad Att.* 6, 6: hanc παλιγγενεσίαν nostram.

⁴ I shall generally disregard accents as being an unimportant item.

Latinized and gapless text in MP. This amounts to a thorough vindication of E.

334, 11 Αἰδωνέα pro terra] E propterea MPV om. R totum locum

The reading of E is the one best suited to the context, and the most satisfactory explanation of the variants shows that Egnatius did not emend his way to superiority. The explanation starts with the assumption that Αἰδωνεα was omitted¹ from z, thus leaving *pro terra* without sense or syntax. Then someone introduced the superficial alteration of *pro terra* to *propterea*, apparently in an attempt to reduce the awkwardness of the passage;² whence the reading of MPV. An explanation that started with *propterea* alone without the Greek would be more difficult. Once again MPV are inferior because of the inferiority of their exemplar z.

335, 13-18 'Αλλ' ἀκούσας — ἔχοι] E om. MPRV lacunis relictis

Although the manuscripts of Plato agree among themselves throughout this passage, E differs from them at the ten following points.

335, 13 βιβλίου] Pl. βατου E

335, 18 βέλτιστα] Pl. βατιοτα E

Since both forms in E lack sense, nobody can censure Egnatius on the grounds of emendation.

335, 15 ταύτη] E ταύτη ἤδη τῇ Pl.

335, 15 αἰτία ἥσθην] Pl. αἰτλησθε E

Here are two scribal errors to be accounted for in the first case by haplography and in the second by an original confusion of A and Α. In neither instance, however, is there any more reason to assign the mistakes to Egnatius than to the scribe of x¹.

Clearly none of these four variants is the product of emendation. Moreover, it is hardly right to blame the printer for all these mistakes when a few pages further on he was quite able to set up eleven lines

¹ Cf. παλινγενεσιαν above.

² Or *propterea* may be due simply to the scribal error of confusing similar words, an error which may have been committed in a z^a to be entered in the stemma directly after z.

of Greek free from typographical faults.¹ Such evidence inclines me to the belief that Egnatius has here reported x¹ just as he found it, errors and all.

335, 16 εὖ ἔχειν τὸν νοῦν] *E* τρόπον τινα εὖ ἔχειν τὸ τὸν νοῦν *Pl.*

The shorter phrase in *E* may represent a simplification, intentional or unintentional, of the longer phrase in *Plato*, but again I see no special reason for holding Egnatius responsible.

335, 17 ἔχου] *E* ἔχει *Pl.*

335, 18 ἔχου] *E* ἔχη *Pl.*

These are really unimportant; in both instances either form will do.

335, 13-14 ὡς ἔοικεν] *E* ὡς ἔφη *Pl.*

335, 18 ἕκαστα σωτίσθαι] *E* συντίθασθαι *coni.* Keil ἕκαστον τιθέναι *Pl.*

Since in both places the readings of *Plato's* manuscripts are clear enough so that Egnatius would have had no occasion to alter them had he found them in his exemplar, it is logical to conclude that he has simply reproduced x¹ at these points.

335, 15 ὁ πάντα αἰεὶ κοσμῶν] *E* ὁ διακοσμῶν *Pl.*

The words in *E* look very much like a gloss on διακοσμῶν; and since it is a *Greek* gloss rather than a *Latin* one, a natural inference is that it originated in a *Greek* manuscript.² Since *E* has given no evidence of conflation with outside sources, doubtless the original author of this section of *Probus* either incorporated the gloss from a *Greek* manuscript which he was using or actually found it already established in the text of that manuscript. In either case it would represent an ancient variant which Egnatius has carefully preserved.

These passages provide just such evidence as one expects after a study of the quotations from *Cicero* — evidence that Egnatius has

¹ Pp. 338, 23-339, 5. There are, in fact, not enough variants of any sort to warrant our study of this passage.

² That is, originally a *Greek* gloss for *Greek* readers. Contrast, for instance, the situation at 331, 10 (p. 131 above), where a *Latin* gloss explains a *Greek* term to *Latin* readers.

printed a faithful version of his exemplar, unaltered by emendation or by conflation. Even so, in the present case a demonstration at once more exacting and more convincing could have been made if the other witnesses had only added their testimony. For this reason let us spend no more time on the other long quotations preserved in E alone but turn instead to the shorter passages, where at least some of the codices provide material by which to test the relative worth of E.

B. Greek Passages preserved in E and other Codices

- 324, 21-22 παρὰ τὸ μὴ στρέφεσθαι] E Keil om. AM lac. relicta
 παραι μὴ στρεφενθαι *et suprascr.* quia non torquentur huc
 illuc P
 παῖΑΙ το στρεφενθαι *sed in marg.* παρΑΙ το μει στρεφενσθαι
 quia non torquentur huc illuc V^h
 οτι μη στρεφονται R

The presence of similar Greek in EPRV and of a corresponding blank space in AM clearly argues some sort of Greek in x¹. Furthermore, since these details concerning the *carmen astrabicon* are known nowhere outside of Probus,¹ Egnatius had no other source than his ancient codex upon which to rely. But, it may be objected, perhaps the scholarly editor had to emend the Greek of his exemplar before he could offer it to his readers in a form so superior to that of the manuscripts. In order to give this contention a fair hearing I suggest a reconstruction of the passage in z and a comparison of this with the text of E. In the first place, the combined evidence of PV(R) shows that z had both το and μη,² and this agreement of z with E makes it clear that Egnatius derived his το μη from x¹. Likewise Egnatius's correct form στρέφεσθαι need not be regarded as a corrected form; for an open-topped, u-shaped sigma³ in z will account for the variants in P and V. The corrupt παραι may have stood in x¹, but such an assumption seems unnecessary when it is just as easy and far more

¹ See Thilo, *Fleck. Jahrb.* CXLIX (1894), p. 294.

² Since the scribe of P omitted the το and the scribe of V in writing the text omitted the μη, probably one of the words had been omitted in z and had then been written in above the other.

³ Cf. Wattenbach, *Griechische Palaeographie*³, Leipzig, 1895, p. 100.

appropriate to say that this is simply another characteristic error in z. Here, then, we have at last confronted E with the testimony of the z group and have found E superior simply because of his accuracy in his report of x¹. In contrast, the scribe of R has been caught at the very trick for which critics have been all too ready to condemn Egnatius.

333, 6 λαμπρὸς vel ταχύς] MP λαμπρος η ταχυς E λαμπρος και ταχυς V

Egnatius's reading has the support of the *vel* of P; and *vel* can be more easily accounted for as a development from η than η from *vel*. Obviously Egnatius has correctly¹ reported x¹. The scribe of V or z² either emended η to και or mistook η for the abbreviation of καί.²

343, 19 χθόνα] Keil χθωνα V χθονιην E om. MP in lac.

Diogenes Laertius (I, 119) cites a similar passage, but scholars have expressed so many conflicting opinions about χθονία and χθών that the results are not clear-cut.³ In the present case, however, χθονίην, an adjectival form between two nouns (Ζῆνα and Κρόνον), is obviously the *lectio difficilior*; and since it would be far easier for χθονίην to develop into the noun χθόνα than for the reverse to happen, I conclude that the text of V or z² has been tampered with and that E has once more proved worthy of our confidence.⁴

In matters Greek, therefore, Egnatius has won the palm for completeness and accuracy in transcribing the well-preserved Greek of

¹ Cf. Hesychius, s.v. ἀργήτα: λαμπρόν ἢ . . . ταχύ.

² The confusion of η and κ is easy (cf. Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 95).

³ Cf. H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, s.v. χθονία, where he refers to Diogenes Laertius and others; H. B. Huebner, *Comment. in Diog. Laert.* I, p. 302. Diels (*Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, II, 1, p. 507) and R. D. Hicks, the latest editor of D. L., read χθονία.

⁴ Other instances are: 331, 14 κύνας ἀργούς] ER κυνας αρνους P κονας αρνονσ V om. M in lac.; 333, 15 Ἑρμ] E Hermes MPV Hermes R; 334, 8 Νῆστις] V νηστις τε E(recte) om. MP in lac.; 334, 11 Ἑραν] EV Ησταν P om. M; 335, 13 περὶ ψυχῆς] E περὶ ψυης V om. MP in lac.; 335, 22 νοῦν] EPR νοιν V om. M in lac.; 347, 12 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλκῆς] EV απο τις αλχεις M a potis alcis P. These show that Egnatius is more likely to be correct, even in small matters, than are the others; rarely is his report inferior: 343, 18 Ζῆνα] V ζενα E om. MP in lac.

his fine old codex. In at least seven places¹ MP have simply gaps to match the Greek in EV, lacunae which doubtless existed in x¹, and exemplar f was even more defective if we are to judge by the nine omissions occurring in M(A) alone.² Although the scribe of P faithfully copied the Greek letters as he found them, he apparently knew little³ Greek himself, and consequently the evidence of his readings carries very great weight, for, however incorrect, they will be free from emendations of his own.

C. Concerning certain Greek Words in LV

The group of readings next on the list should prove most interesting, for it gives us considerable inside information about the nature and methods of L and V and their exemplar z².

381, 4 θρόνα] *Keil* throna *E* trona *P* om. *LM* totum locum
θρονον *V* et in marg. το θρονον pigmentum medicamentum

The combined testimony of EP clearly shows that *throna*⁴ stood in x¹. Whether the word was written with Greek or Latin characters, the neuter plural is the form required not only by the agreement of EP but also by Greek usage. If we take x¹ as our standard, therefore, the text of V is incorrect on two scores: Greek letters have been introduced as a sort of learned emendation and the word itself has been incorrectly altered to the singular, an alteration probably traceable to the influence of the gloss. If the emendator had only taken the hint

¹ To the instances cited in the preceding note (334, 8; 335, 13) add 324, 21-22 (παρὰ τὸ μὴ στρέφεισθαι); 341, 13 (ικμάς); 343, 18-19 (Ζῆνα — Κρόνον); 344, 16 (Ὡκείανόν — τηθύν); 363, 23 (χειμερινήν).

² To the instances already cited on p. 135, n. 4 (331, 14; 334, 11; 335, 22) add 340, 24 (ἀρχαῖς); 341, 2 (γῆ); 341, 3 (πνεῦμα); 357, 18 (ἀπὸ τοῦ πλεῖν); 357, 25 (ἀπὸ τοῦ ἕιν); 362, 26 (ισημερινή).

³ Cf. 333, 6 λαμπρός] *EMV* λαμπρ ος *P*; 347, 12 a potis alcis (see p. 135, n. 4 above); 357, 25 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἕιν] *EV* α ποτου νην *P* om. *M* in lac.; 362, 62 ισημερινή] *E* εισημερινη *V* εισημερι·νη *P* om. *M*. Note also his preference for transliterations, which sometimes he alone has: 350, 26 δρύς ἄμα] *EMV* Drys hama *P*; 364, 9 ἕω-στηρα τοῦ κόσμου] *EV* Zostera του κοσμου *M* Zostera tu cosmu *P*. These and many others which P has in common with M or MV doubtless derive from the exemplars.

⁴ Probus himself may have written θρονα; but for an estimate of Egnatius's reliability it is more important for us to know the reading of x¹.

from his exemplar and had written the correct form *θρονα*, his exposure would have been somewhat more difficult; but, as things are, who can doubt that the scribe of V or x² is guilty of emendation?

385, 2 ὄπα] *E opa P om. M totum locum*
οπην *LV et in marg.: οπη ης uox cauerna foramen*

Doubtless the word was spelled with Greek ¹ letters in x¹ and with Latin letters in z; but the really important thing is that both E and P bear witness to fundamentally the same form and that, too, the correct one. Again the emendator has betrayed himself; and his whereabouts are no longer a matter for conjecture, because now the united testimony of L and V mark z² as the source of this learned display.

385, 1 ἀπὸ τοῦ μερισμοῦ] *LV (μερισμν V) et in marg.: μερίζω diuido*
μερισ ἰδοσ particula ο μεριστησ ου partitor
a merismo EP om. M totum locum.

Here the scribe of z² has more skilfully restored the Greek form of the main word and has even ventured on a more elaborate emendation which involves the addition of two subsidiary Greek words. Incidentally, the scribe of V was not only a party to the emendation but has actually given us an inferior ² report of it.

381, 15 οἷστρον] *L οιστρος V oestrum E Estrum P om. M totum loc.*

Apparently our emendator had not learned enough Greek to know that ἄτη follows ὕβρις. Pedantic pride in newly learned Greek we might endure, but never this blind folly of tampering with the very text ³ of Virgil himself! And once again the report in V is characteristically inferior. Surely the limit has been reached.

The implication of these passages ⁴ is easy to appreciate. For, what-

¹ Careful and conservative Egnatius has so often agreed with z in preserving the Latin forms of Greek words and has alone so often preserved the Greek form that I see no reason for assuming that he abandoned the model of his exemplar here.

² See p. 137, n. 4 below for at least seven more instances of similar inferiority in V.

³ Similarly in 383, 24 ῥοδόπη] *LV Rhodope* ²*EP.*

⁴ The following are similar instances which, however, frequently lack the corroborating testimony of L: 362, 21 θερυνή] *E therinea MP θερμαιος V*; 368, 12

ever Probus himself may have written, the combined testimony of scholarly, conservative, and reliable Egnatius and of the faithful scribe of P establishes the actual reading of x^1 and z , so that even if the writer of z^2 may occasionally have given a form more nearly resembling the original one of Probus, his virtue is the dangerous one of emendation, which for our purposes immediately becomes a vice as compared with the virtue of those copyists who strive to transmit an accurate report of their exemplars, however incorrect or senseless a given phrase may be. The next passage well illustrates this very point.

341, 13 *ικμάς*] *V et in marg.:* *ικμασ* humor *ιγνυσ* proles (*sic, non ιγpus*) *V*
ilcinus E om. MP sine lac. Oceanus coni. Thilo

Since the form *ilcinus* utterly lacks sense and is not even an acknowledged word, Egnatius, far from incurring suspicion of emendation, should be highly commended for his faithful report of his exemplar. And the fact that the scribe of z^1 (MP) completely omitted the form clearly shows that something was also wrong with z at this point.¹

How, then, do *ικμας* and the marginalia of V, or better² of z^2 , fit into the picture? In the first place, it is to be remembered that the numerous other learned glosses in z^2 have always been concerned with something in the text; but in the present case a search reveals nothing to which the words *ιγνυσ proles*³ can refer. I propose, then, the fol-

δρχεις] *E orchis MP ορχοι V*; 373, 9 *ἐλεος*] *eleos EMP ἔλεητυσ V*; 377, 6 *Αἰτίων*] *aetion EMP αιτιων L αιτειον V*; 379, 27 *φοίνικα*] *Phoenica E phenica P φοῖνηκα ὡV*; 379, 28 *σπάδικα*] *spadica EP σπαδεικα V*; 379, 28 *λευκόπυρον*] *V Leucopyrum EP*; similarly throughout 380, 5-8; 381, 11 *καὶ ταύρον*] *L και ταιρον V et taurus ὡE et tauris P*; 382, 19 *τραγωδουμένων*] *VL (sed -ων ex -ον corr. L) tragodumenon EP*. Recall also a similar restoration of Greek forms by Politian (p. 108 above).

¹ The coincidence of corruption in E and z at the same point shows that *ilcinus* is no mere printer's error. So, too, does the peculiar nature of the glosses in V, as will soon appear. Thilo (*Fleck. Jahrb.* CXLIX (1894), p. 429) agrees to a corruption in the Bobbio manuscript (= x^1) and adds: "die abschrift, die Egnatius benutzte, gab, wie es scheint, das original am treuesten wieder."

² As has been demonstrated, the learned Greek traits and marginalia descended to V from z^2 ; and so we may refer to z^2 here even without the testimony of L.

³ Cf. G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, Leipzig, 1888-1923, II, pp. 538; 551; VII, I, p. 106; VII, 2, p. 542. Here *ιγνυσ* and *poples* are equated. *Proles* represents an easy confusion with *poples*, probably attributable to the carelessness of the scribe of V.

lowing explanation. The scribe of z^2 found the text of z entirely corrupt, though perhaps it contained some such form as Egnatius's *ilcinus*, which despite its mutilation suggested ¹ something Greek to one so noticeably partial to Greek flavoring in his Latin text. On the scent of another Greek form, therefore, he eagerly thumbed his glossary, which informed him that $\kappa\mu\alpha\varsigma$ was the equivalent of *humor*. In his desire, however, to have all possible evidence available for the improvement of his corrupt text he jotted down in the margin not only $\kappa\mu\alpha\varsigma$ but also $\iota\gamma\nu\varsigma$, a somewhat similar word, probably standing very close to $\kappa\mu\alpha\varsigma$. No further discussion is necessary to make it apparent that the scribe of z^2 with his penchant for 'improvements' of this sort has restored what is probably the correct reading, but he has won this superiority at the cost of his reputation. Although Egnatius could in similar fashion have corrected this corrupt form, his fidelity to his exemplar forced him to record not merely a more difficult reading but even a quite senseless one. It is E — certainly not V — which best reflects the text of the common archetype.

This is the proper point for an acknowledgment of my indebtedness to Monsignor Mercati for a reference to Karl Christ's account ² of the Greek manuscripts once owned by Egnatius. Of the codices mentioned, however, only the two containing the *Iliad* (*Vat. Pal. Gr.* 231 and *Vat. Pal. Gr.* 310) can be used for our purposes; ³ and even here the variants in the twenty available lines are for the most part not of a significance to warrant any detailed report. A study of the one most important will suffice.

364, 22 $\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\kappa\epsilon\omicron\nu$] *E, Pal. 231 et 310, DTU*⁴ *etc. vulg. om. MPV (MP in lac.)*
*μείλινον ABCE*³*E*⁴ *etc. Allen* ⁴

¹ The word is clearly not Latin, and its *ilc-*, conceivably a corruption of the Greek $\iota\kappa-$, may well have been both the source of the original error and the connecting link between *ilcinus* and the restored $\kappa\mu\alpha\varsigma$.

² "Zur Geschichte der griechischen Handschriften der Palatina," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXXVI (1919), pp. 3 ff., especially pp. 22-32.

³ Even in the case of these two I have not been able to ascertain whether they were in Egnatius's possession before 1507, when he published his Probus.

⁴ For the full collation see T. W. Allen's larger and exhaustive edition of the *Iliad* (Oxford, 1931). I have cited only the oldest manuscripts.

A hasty glance at this collation might lead to the surmise that, if *Pal.* 231 and *Pal.* 310 were in his possession before 1507, Egnatius derived his χαλκεον from them. However, the editor would have had no motive for emendation had μελινον stood in x¹, and the assignment of D and T to the 10th and the 11th centuries respectively makes it evident that χαλκεον is as old a tradition as μελινον. In fact, after experience with the other Greek passages and with the quotations from Cicero I am quite ready to regard Probus as another old and independent witness to χαλκεον. In further proof of the improbability of Egnatius's having depended on either of the Palatine manuscripts let me add that *Pal.* 310 contains seven errors¹ and *Pal.* 231 has three² not appearing in E. Egnatius, therefore, has with ease cleared one more hurdle set for him.

A moment's reflection will show the value of the study of the Greek passages. It has given fresh evidence to justify the addition of the hypothetical z, z¹, z², and f to the stemma. It has emphasized the fidelity of the scribe of P. It has demonstrated that the immediate source of L and V was contaminated by abundant, and often incorrect, Greek emendations and that, furthermore, these were rendered less accurately in V than in L. In fact, V has been the heaviest loser in every way, while E has come out far ahead of all the rest, thanks to the characteristic excellence of both its exemplar and its editor.

V. THE PROBLEM OF ORDER

In his vehement condemnation of the emendatory vice which he so eagerly ascribes to Egnatius Keil includes censorious reference³ to the editor's alterations in the sequence of certain passages. With equal intensity in the defense of Egnatius Dal Zotto would have us understand that such changes of order are not at all in the same category as deliberate emendations; they are simply the result of the nature of E

¹ They are: 333, 7 ἀργούς] *EMPV*, *Hom.* ἀργοις *Pal.* 231 *om.* *Pal.* 310; 334, 23 ναίμεν] *E*, *Pal.* 231 *Hom.* νειαιμεν *Pal.* 310; 334, 25 ἐν] *E*, *Hom.* *om.* *Pal.* 310 *et* 321; 342, 9 μέμνη ὅτε] *E*, *Pal.* 231 *Hom.* μεμνητοτε *Pal.* 310; 362, 16 Ὠρίωνα] *EM*, *Pal.* 231 *Hom.* ωριονα *Pal.* 310; 364, 19 αἱ δ' ἄρ'] *E*, *Hom.* αἱ γὰρ *Pal.* 231 *et* 310 *et alii codd.*; 364, 20 Κυλλοποδίων] *E*, *Hom.* κυλοποδιων *Pal.* 310.

² Cf. 333, 7; 334, 25; and 364, 19 as cited in the preceding note.

³ Keil, p. viii.

which requires that the commentary on a given verse be placed as near as possible to that verse.¹ In fact, he explains that the manuscripts themselves have six times departed from this natural order simply because certain folia which had been torn loose from the "very old" codex were put back in other than their proper places.² Every one of these displaced passages, therefore, represents a single folium of which the text is sometimes wholly preserved, sometimes only partly legible.³ Taking his cue from the passage in Hagen, pp. 361, 23-362, 6, which he rightly regards as a loosened leaf so reinserted that the verso page was read off before the recto, Dal Zotto concludes that every page of x¹ contained approximately the equivalent of 8½ lines of Hagen's edition.⁴

¹ *Vicus Andicus*, pp. 9 ff.: " . . . l'ordine dei versi di Virgilio esige indiscutibilmente l'ordine corrispondente della materia del commentario"; and later concerning Egnatius's action in this matter (pp. 11-12): "la sua fu una norma elementare di amanuense e non di critico o emendatore, la quale non ha nulla a che vedere con la negligenza o con la licenza, come fu, troppo superficialmente, giudicata dal Keil."

² Thus *Georgics* 1, 247-251 are placed before 1, 244-246 (Hagen p. 361); *G.* 2, 361-417 are inserted between 2, 506 and 519 (p. 374); *G.* 3, 282 is placed before 3, 267 (p. 382); *G.* 3, 391 before 3, 338 (p. 383); *G.* 3, ll. 129, 264, and 339 are placed at the end of the third book after *G.* 3, 475 (p. 384); *G.* 4, ll. 110, 231, 246, 380, and 371 are put after *G.* 4, 535 (p. 387). This statement comes from *Vicus Andicus*, p. 9.

³ *Vicus Andicus*, p. 9: "Ogni passo spostato del commentario rivela quindi un singolo foglio, ora intero ed ora mutilo e frusto, ora leggibile da ambe due le parti ed ora soltanto da una."

⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 9-10, where there is also a facsimile of this section as it appears in E. Since the lines in Keil's edition are a trifle shorter and should therefore reduce the margin of error in an estimate of this sort, I made a new calculation based on this edition. The figures for Dal Zotto's chief passages are: (A) a reversed folium, recto (= 361, 29-362, 6 Hagen) = 9½ lines, verso (= 361, 21-28) = 7 lines; (B) a reversed fol., recto (382, 17-25) = 8½ ll., verso, only partially legible (382, 12-16) = 4½ ll.; (C) a leaf legible on only one side (384, 7-15) = 9 ll.; (D) folia lost before Egnatius used x¹ (344, 1-347, 1) = 81 ll., or probably 10 pages of about 8 lines each. The other sections mentioned by Dal Zotto I shall pass over as being merely fragments of original folia or gatherings ("soltanto frammenti . . . preceduti e seguiti da lacuna, e ci assicurano della perdita di fogli e di fascicoli interi," p. 10). To the preceding instances I should like to add five supplementary cases, detached units or islands of text, as it were, which seem to add corroborative evidence: 358, 19-361, 20 = 91 ll., or 10 pp. of 9 ll. each; 362, 6-365, 2 = 86 ll., or 10 pp. of 8½ ll.

This last-mentioned passage deserves further study. As we have seen, the leaf was torn loose and then not only inserted in the wrong place but even reversed in the process, so that the scribe of z, copying everything as it stood, wrote off the original verso page first and then the recto; but Egnatius, to meet the requirements of his Virgilian text, had to print the original recto side first in its proper order — i.e., he placed p. 361, 29 (*hic flexu*) — 362, 6 (*in alio sic*) before p. 361, 23–28. Apparently,¹ however, his characteristic fidelity led him to copy each page just as it stood, so that two senseless combinations have come down to us: *orison fiat in alio sic*. ¶ *Aut redit aurora . .*² and soon afterwards *ibi occasum esse maximus*.³ Such surely is not the work of an emendator.

Similarly in E the commentary in *Buc.* 6, 31 ends abruptly with the words *principia sorori declaravit*.⁴ The next quotation from Probus in E begins several pages further on with *Tunc Progne*.⁵ As in the preceding case, no emendatory zeal could have been responsible for such nonsense. Rather, after z had been written, five folia disappeared forever from x¹ in such a way as to leave no trace of their loss, so that Egnatius, in order to reproduce his exemplar faithfully, had no choice but to print the passage as he has done.⁶

each; 371, 27–373, 7 = 39 ll., or 4 pp. of 9½ ll. each; 380, 21–381, 12 = 19 ll., or 2 pp. of 9½ ll. each; 385, 15–26, which may perhaps be a mutilated folium of which the damaged recto side is represented only by ll. 15–17 (*in quo — matrimonio] *PV om. E*) while the verso page has the full quota of 9 ll. Throughout this entire note the calculations make no allowance for verse-distinction. Even if we grant some variation in this matter (as we should in view of the punctuation of MPV), all these passages give evidence of pages in x¹ which contained each the equivalent of 8+ to 9+ lines of Keil's edition. Consequently, while Dal Zotto's theory may have some rather difficult clauses, it does merit thoughtful consideration.

¹ Cf. *Vicus Andicus*, pp. 10; 13–14. Although Dal Zotto's very ingenious theory requires our acceptance of a number of rather difficult details, I know of no better one. In any event, Egnatius certainly cannot be accused of emendation.

² I.e., a combination of p. 362, 5–6 with p. 361, 23. For the best understanding of the situation cf. the facsimile in *Vicus Andicus*, p. 10.

³ Cf. p. 361, 28–29.

⁴ *Principia*, p. 344, 1; *sorori declaravit*, p. 347, 1. There is a period after *declaravit*, but no punctuation whatsoever between *principia* and *sorori*. See the facsimile in *Vicus Andicus*, p. 12.

⁵ P. 347, 1.

⁶ Such is Dal Zotto's convincing explanation in *Vicus Andicus*, p. 12.

This investigation of Keil's slur has brought to the front still further evidence of what is fast becoming an old story: that Egnatius in all things respected the authority of his exemplar, which appears to have been, as he himself said, a *vetustissimus codex*.¹

VI. CONCERNING UNCERTAIN VARIANTS

Up to this point reasonably certain results have been attained in determining what variants in a given passage represent a declination from the norm of x¹. At last, however, we are confronted either with readings so evenly matched that a decision concerning them is not easily reached or with passages in which Egnatius's manifestly superior reading may seem the child of emendation. For this reason I have labeled them 'uncertain.'

325, 15	reperta]	AMPRV	recuperata	E
327, 30	diversas]	AMPRV	adversas	E
348, 8	Musas]	MPV	Musam	E
370, 18	nascitur]	MPV	oritur	E

In these cases both readings meet the requirements of the situation; but since Egnatius has proved more accurate and faithful and since he would have no motive to emend, his variants may well be given the benefit of the doubt.

Very similar is the long list of 16 examples which Sabbadini presents to illustrate Egnatius's obvious emendations.² In the first place, the evidence of the new collations requires the rejection of three of these examples,³ and one other case (*adversas*) has already been disposed of in my own list just above. In the remaining places ⁴ I grant that Egnatius provides the better reading but I do not grant that he has acquired

¹ Cf. Rand, *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), p. 7.

² *Rendiconti*, pp. 1093-1094: (Egnazio) "emendò inoltre [i.e., in addition to his restoration of the misplaced sections to their proper order] un certo numero di passi, dove l'emendazione si presentava abbastanza ovvia."

³ In 332, 6 E reads *conceptum* with MPV and not *acceptum* with R; in 346, 5 E does not have *lucum*, for this passage comes in one of the five folia lost before E was made; in 350, 30 E does not have *emisit* but omits the word, though certainly not as an emendation.

⁴ 325, 5 instituerunt] ER instituerant AMPV; 328, 24 in tertia] ER in tertio AMPV; 331, 30 an poeta] E a poeta MPV; 340, 21 corpore] E corpora MPV; 343, 23 tractata] E tracta MPV; 350, 4 Oeneco] E Inaco MPV; 351, 17 placatis] E

this superiority by emendation, for the variants in z can be dismissed as scribal errors.¹ If these mistakes could have been made by the scribe of x¹, they could just as well have been made by the scribe of z. In fact, when z's reputation for carelessness of this very sort has been strengthened by one example after another and when the purity and accuracy of E's text has time and again been demonstrated, are we ready to believe that these variants originated ² in x¹ and were corrected by Egnatius? On the contrary, since the issue has been forced, I am ready to turn these very passages into evidence against z and in favor of E.

I take the same general stand in regard to the following list of my own:

- 324, 10 omnes Graecae] omnes Graeciae *MPV* omnis Graeciae gens *E*
omnes Graeci *R*
324, 20 forma] *AMPV* forma sedilis ^x*E* om. *R* totum locum
327, 13 congruentibus] *AMPRV* pastori congruentibus ^x*E*
347, 11-12 monte] *MPV* avo *E*

In view of the superiority of x^1 over z and in view of the reliable placatus *MPV*; 358, 13 cantho] *E cantu GMPV*; 361, 6 ex adusta] *E exhausta MPV*; 373, 10 pax] *E parum MPV*; 378, 13 furia] *E syria MPLV*; 381, 9 tauro-rum] *E centaurorum PLV*.

¹ Even in the case of *pax* (373, 10), had Egnatius seen *parum* in his exemplar, past experience assures us that he would have preserved this form, which does seem to make a superficial sense; and it is conceivable that z misread *pax* as an abbreviated form of *parum*. *Inaco* (350, 4) may have developed from *eneo* read as *enco* or *inco*. In any case, why ascribe this error to x¹ rather than to z, especially since z has a reputation for carelessness?

² Sabbadini apparently believes that anything reported in MPV must represent the original reading in x¹ and that consequently, whenever E does not agree with MPV, it is E which has failed to reproduce the archetype accurately. In this frame of mind he draws up (*Rendiconti*, p. 1095) an additional list of 'capricious or senseless' alterations by Egnatius, but these really deserve scant notice. One (332, 28 *Crisippus*) is an incorrect proper name; two (329, 23 *Phanodes*; 348, 12 *Thiantis*) do not suit the context, says Sabbadini; four (330, 14 *adsiduus*; 352, 19 *Mnevis*; 358, 23 *Ladon*; 368, 18 *et intraturo*) make no sense; and three (366, 27 *venatorum*; 367, 7 *ceraso*; 370, 18 *nascitur*) did not require emendation. The very nature of these ten instances according to Sabbadini's own account prevents their being cited as conscious emendations by Egnatius, whatever else they may be. In the eleventh case (368, 25 *pomum*), as in the last three just cited, I trace the corruption to z and not to E.

report of x^1 in E, the opponents of Egnatius will be flying in the very face of the soundest probability if they claim that these defective variants of MPV originated in x^1 rather than in z and were emended by Egnatius — *claim*, I say, since proof seems impossible.

356, 18-19 quae Latine — vocatur] MPV om. E

Egnatius may have omitted these words by the easy error of haplography; but I find Dal Zotto's theory¹ very attractive; namely, that z has actually incorporated an explanatory gloss.

324, 1 damnat] BMPV Keil damnasset R cauisset E
damnaverit coni. Keil Nettleship damnasset cavens coni. Hagen

A perusal of the many comments² on this passage will reveal ample justification for its inclusion under the heading of 'uncertain'; for although *cauisset* is generally acknowledged the more desirable reading and from this very fact some may wish to echo Sabbadini's denunciation of it as an emendation,³ neither side has been able to prove its point. I am content to say that, in the light of his fidelity in passages far more difficult than this one, Egnatius certainly would not have balked⁴ at *damnat* had it appeared in x^1 , especially since it is not such a difficult reading after all. These considerations reduce to a minimum the likelihood of emendation in E, and their validity increases when we reflect on the general superiority of the text of x^1 as compared with the careless and altered report of it in z. All available evidence, therefore, prompts me to trust the reading⁵ transmitted by Egnatius.

¹ *Vicus Andicus*, p. 15.

² Norden, *Rhein. Mus.* LXI (1906), p. 173, n. 2; Conway, *Harv. Lect.* p. 37; Rand, *Quest.* pp. 140; 167, n. 91; Nardi, *Ed. crit.* p. 8; Sabbadini, *Historia*, VI (1932), p. 94.

³ *Historia*, VI (1932), p. 94: "*Cavisset* è correzione congetturale dell' Egnazio" — but his is a mere statement unsupported by demonstration.

⁴ The same holds true for 324, 7 (*non tibi sed*, cf. *Quest.* p. 168, n. 92; *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), p. 7, n. 6; cf. *H. S. C. P.* XLIV (1933), pp. 89-90); for two passages cited by Keil (p. viii): 363, 3-4 (*quoniam* — *posita est*) and 365, 2 (*involverit* — *superponeret*); for two passages mentioned by Sabbadini (*Rendiconti*, pp. 1095-1096): 337, 2 (*Blanda*) and 361, 32 (*Ladona*).

⁵ *Damnat* may have originated as the jotting of some reader interested in legal Latin; it is a favorite word with legal writers.

In conclusion I should assert that Egnatius's testimony should be accepted as true until it can positively be disproved. *In rebus incertis certus amicus Egnatius!*

VII. THE BOBBIO PROBLEM

Reference has already been made to Egnatius's statement about his *vetustissimus codex* and to the learned speculations of scholars upon this topic.¹ I do not pretend to add to their detailed and thoroughly documented discussions any new material derived from bibliothecal literature, but I shall present some evidence gleaned from my own investigations; for, to be acceptable, an hypothesis (it seems doubtful whether proof can ever be reached) must do violence neither to the external accounts of the libraries and their books nor to the internal story derived from the text itself.

Sabbadini's interpretation of the 1461 catalogue of the Bobbio library allows him to propose the theory that, since the commentary of Probus stood next in the list after the Medicean Virgil, it doubtless was closely associated with that famous manuscript and was with it moved sometime after 1461 from Bobbio to Rome, where both found their way into Leto's hands not later than 1470.² That should mean that Leto, and through him probably his pupils and Bussi, had direct access to the text of x¹, the very text which Egnatius has reported so faithfully. In such a case is it not reasonable to expect that at least L, written by Leto's own hand, together with its twin V and the closely related B, should exhibit texts very similar to that of E, since all would be direct copies of the same exemplar, the Bobbio codex?³ Actu-

¹ See pp. 95-96 above.

² Sabbadini, *Historia*, VI (1932), pp. 90-91; VII (1933), p. 615; Mercati, *Prolegomena*, p. 74. Mercati is favorably inclined to Sabbadini's conjecture but modifies it with a cautious 'perhaps.' See also Dal Zotto, p. 7.

³ So Di Martino (*Samnium*, V (1932), p. 183), who seems to have based his article chiefly on Sabbadini, *Historia*, VI (1932), 88-95. "From what source did V spring?" asks Di Martino, and answers: "dalla fonte di Bobbio, la quale in quel tempo esisteva a Roma; quindi V è d' importanza capitale." Similarly Dal Zotto, *Vicus Andicus*, p. 8. I grant that in his latest article (*Historia*, VII (1933), p. 619) Sabbadini does allow the derivation of L and V from an exemplar which was itself a direct copy of x¹: (LV) "furono tratti probabilmente da un primo apografo diretto dell' archetipo con la collaborazione di Pomponio Leto." In any case,

ally, however, the preceding pages have demonstrated that the text of *LVB* and their associates is not only different from that of *E* but inferior in its report of x^1 , its inferiority being traceable in large part to the now lost exemplars which intervened in the *z* family between its members and x^1 . The conclusion follows that, when Leto and the rest wrote their manuscripts, they did not have Egnatius's ancient codex before their eyes.¹ Rather, it seems to me that a careless scribe made a copy (= *z*) of x^1 in some distant town, whence this copy made its way to Rome to be used by the Pomponiani. Otherwise the assumption that *z* was made from x^1 at Rome will have to be bolstered up by another assumption that by the time *z* or z^2 came into Leto's hands the original x^1 was quite out of his reach, for he could hardly have rested content with the inferior text of either of these exemplars had the *vetustissimus codex* been available for collation.² On the basis of the textual evidence, therefore, Sabbadini's theory and similar ones prove unacceptable.

On the contrary, the belief that the members of the *z* family reflect a careless copy of x^1 made at some distant place and then carried to Rome not only agrees with the internal evidence but also meets external requirements, and may even effect a reconciliation between those who would accept Egnatius's statement at its face value and those who doubt his accuracy though not necessarily his intent.³ Let us grant even the extreme view of Mercati that there is no proof that

throughout this article, as in his others, he not merely implies a close relationship between *V* and x^1 but he insists upon the superiority of *V* above all others: e.g., p. 617, "Metto a base *V*, che è il codice più autorevole."

¹ This may also be used as an argument against Mercati's theory (*Rendiconti*, p. 26) that Leto or a friend may have discovered this codex — unless one admits that the Pomponiani were very careless scribes. Cf. Gebhardt, *Zentralblatt*, *V* (1888), p. 385, where mention is made of Leto's trips north and a possible visit to Bobbio.

² A single instance will make the point clear. Leto and the scribe of z^2 (and the scribe of *V*) were so proud of their Greek that they paraded it on the slightest provocation, as we have seen. Yet from their manuscripts were omitted many Greek passages which Egnatius's ancient codex had preserved. Are we to imagine, then, that with x^1 available in Rome these ardent Greek scholars would have neglected with its aid to fill in the lacunae of their own manuscripts?

³ Cf. Mercati, *Rendiconti*, p. 26.

Probus's *Commentary* was at Bobbio in 1461 or that it was discovered there in 1493 by Merula.¹ What, then, can be said for Egnatius?

The starting point is the tenth-century catalogue of the Bobbio library, which lists "*libros Valerii Probi III.*" Both Sabbadini and Mercati believe that two of these books survived at Bobbio until 1493 and that the third had disappeared.² If we begin with the very plausible assumption that this third *liber Probi* was his Virgilian *Commentary*,³ a reasonable history of the manuscript can be constructed as follows. It left Bobbio⁴ sometime before 1461⁵ and yet after the *ex-libris* notices⁶ of Bobbio had been written in the books, and finally found a new home in some other library⁷ in "alta Italia." Here a copy (z) was made by a careless scribe whose manuscript was probably taken to Rome, where it became the source of the z tradition. Here, too, in this north-Italian library it ultimately came to the attention of the active and scholarly Merula, who contrived to get it for his own library.⁸

¹ *Rendiconti*, pp. 25 ff.; *Prolegomena*, pp. 74-75.

² See Sabbadini, *Historia*, VI (1932), p. 91 for statement and references. See also Mercati, *Rendiconti*, p. 28; *Prolegomena*, p. 83.

³ See *Zentralblatt*, V (1888), p. 384, n. 2. Keil also (*Gram. Lat.* IV, p. vii) makes exactly the same supposition: *tertium suspicari possumus continuisse commentarium in Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica quem ex Bobiensi codice editum esse constat.*

⁴ Mercati (*Prolegomena*, p. 73, *et passim*) shows that manuscripts had long been disappearing from Bobbio; and they continued to do so even after the 1461 catalogue had been made — the Medicean Virgil, for instance.

⁵ This requires our acceptance of Mercati's decision (*Rendiconti*, p. 28) that the *Commentary* cannot with certainty be identified among the works listed in the 1461 catalogue. Cf. also Gebhardt, *Zentralblatt*, V (1888), p. 389.

⁶ "Sui primi del '400" according to De Marinis in *Enc. Italiana*, s.v. "Bobbio"; during or before 1448 according to Mercati, *Prolegomena*, pp. 56-58.

⁷ Compare, for instance, the way in which the Medicean codex of Virgil, after leaving Bobbio, turned up in Rome at St. Paul's outside the Walls (Mercati, *Prolegomena*, p. 74).

⁸ Cf. Mercati, *Prolegomena*, p. 84, and n. 1, where we learn that Merula searched the libraries of Italy and Europe in general "per incarico di Mattia Corvino ad acquisitare codici per la biblioteca reale, di cui fu bibliotecario," and also that Merula in his own library had "non pochi manoscritti suoi propri." Sabbadini (*Scoperte*, 1914, pp. 133; 157) writes to the same effect, and comments particularly on Merula's great activity during the years 1488-1493. Cf. also F. M. Carey's remark about Isaac Vossius ("De Scripta Floriacensi," *H. S. C. P.* XXXIV (1923), p. 193): "Isaac Vossius, her [Queen Christina's] collector of ancient books, seems to have kept a large share of the classical authors for himself."

The fact that Merula in his lectures shows no use¹ of Probus may indicate that he came into the possession of such a manuscript late in life, possibly only a year or two before his death. In this connection let us also observe that in 1489 Politian published his *Miscellanea*, in chapter 50 of which he refers to Probus² in such a way as to imply that the Virgilian *Commentary* was by that time well known. As Gebhardt points out,³ a man of Merula's learning and wide reading could scarcely have been unacquainted with Politian's citation of Probus. Now, let us say that Merula found this old Bobbio codex in some library after 1489; in 1492, for example. In that case he would have no occasion to make a great commotion about his finding of a work which he knew was already so familiar to the world of scholars. Finally, after Merula's death in 1494, the carelessness of his heirs resulted in the dispersion of his library,⁴ and thus the Bobbio codex ultimately came into Egnatius's hands.

An account of this sort satisfies the internal evidence by the supposition that x¹ always remained at some distance from Rome, and it violates, so far as I am aware, no facts of the external evidence. Furthermore, it explains two important items in Egnatius's statement, for the reference to the *ex-libris* notices shows how he was justified in saying that the manuscript came from Bobbio, and Merula's possible possession⁵ of the book shows that Egnatius had reason to mention Merula. If this sketch does not make allowance for his assertion that Merula actually discovered the book at Bobbio, it does indicate how Egnatius, influenced by the association of the two names with this codex, could easily be led to the conclusion that Merula did discover the book at Bobbio, and thus it reduces the possibilities of error in Egnatius's statement to a minimum.⁶ Even his cautious *quondam* finds its place in such a scheme. For, be it noted, he does not try to limit the time of the discovery to 1493; *quondam* might be 1492 or 1490 or any other appropriate date.

¹ Cf. Mercati, *Rendiconti*, p. 24 § 2, and n. 3.

² Gebhardt, *Zentralblatt*, V (1888), pp. 387-388.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 389.

⁴ Mercati, *Prolegomena*, p. 85, n. 3.

⁵ See p. 95, n. 9 above.

⁶ At most he can be blamed for not adding some modifier like *forsan*; cf. Mercati, *Rendiconti*, p. 26; *Prolegomena*, p. 75.

I do not claim that this "history" is more than conjectural, nor do I claim that it is the only possible one. What I do say is that, in view of such a reasonable reconstruction and in view of Egnatius's general reliability as shown in this article, we should be hesitant in rejecting his statement until positive proof¹ can be brought against it. The burden of gathering that still rests heavily on Egnatius's opponents.

VIII. THREE vs. THIRTY

With the Bobbio problem I have discussed and dismissed fairly, I trust, the last charge preferred against Egnatius. It now remains to see what settlement has been brought to that riot of problems depicted in the introductory sections. The stemma, of course, has taken care of many of the disputes, and it has proved so satisfactory in all tests that I feel confident of its essential soundness. If I have achieved the justice at which I aimed in the analysis of the virtues and the defects of the several witnesses in the case, then the foundation has been laid for a fresh reconstruction of the text of Probus. Ample evidence shows that *z* was a far less worthy son of *x*¹ than was *y*; and so at the very outset the descendants of *z* are inevitably handicapped by this impurity in their common ancestor. Furthermore, since AMPLV, the most important members of this family, spring from parents intermediate between themselves and *z*, they are bound to contain even more blemishes than does that common ancestor. Nevertheless, in the capacity of copyist, the writer of *P* was the most faithful scribe in the group and on the whole provides us with the best report of *z*, so that the agreement of *P* and *E* always deserves most careful consideration. Petrus Crinitus (*M*), too, is a reliable scribe, although his text contains a somewhat greater element of error if for no other reason than that it is one step further removed from *z*. In fact, one of the great values of Politian's excerpts (*A*) is that they supply excellent evidence for the inclusion of the additional exemplar, *f*, and show us how, in

¹ One who has toiled through the labyrinthine theories propounded by writers on this subject will readily agree with Rand (*H. S. C. P.* XLIV (1933), p. 77, n. 4) that "after the divergent views expressed by such eminent experts as Sabbadini and Mercati on the nature and the wanderings of the Bobbio codex it is evident that these matters do not lie in the domain of 'new and definite fact,' but in a new field awaiting exploration."

contrast to Egnatius, this humanist has indulged in at least occasional emendations, both Greek and Latin. B is too short to require much attention except in one or two instances. R and C, however, despite their fragmentary condition, provide prime examples of what a humanist really could do in emending or modifying the text of his exemplar, and thus they serve as striking foils to the careful, reliable work of Egnatius. The twins L and V obviously derive from a model containing both learned glosses and attempts at learned emendations. And what is more, when Sabbadini insists upon the unrivaled superiority of V as the best record of x^1 , I am forced to point out that V is a copy of an emended copy (z^2) of an inferior copy (z) of x^1 and that, furthermore, V itself is actually inferior to its twin L. How noticeably and how favorably E contrasts with even the best of the z family! Surely the superiority of Egnatius's text is founded not upon the quicksands of emendation but upon the firm rock of fidelity and accuracy in the report of a superior archetype. It follows that in times of perplexity we should not hesitate to place our confidence in the witness who has been most tried and found true.

Finally, then, the case of *III* and *XXX*.

323, 5 *XXX*] *BGMPV* *iii E* *2v R*¹ *triginta Cen*.

Two kinds of evidence are at our disposal: one personal — the character of the witnesses —, the other palaeographical — the method of writing *milia passuum tria* or *triginta*. The first, which has been our chief concern throughout this paper, requires no further exposition here, I trust, to convince the impartial mind that Egnatius's testimony deserves the first consideration.

The palaeographical phase of the situation must receive more detailed analysis. While Conway believed² that it was easier to account for a corruption of *XXX* to *III* than of *III* to *XXX*, he was willing to grant that "if the numeral had preceded the word *milia* it might have

¹ The general character of R prompts one to pay little attention to this peculiar variant. As there is no obvious motive for a change of this sort, the reading in R may be taken to show that actually z itself was corrupt at this place or perhaps it indicates that the point of intersection of the two lines forming the third x was so low that the letter resembled a v .

² C. Q. XXV (1931), p. 72.

been possible to argue that some scribe had saved himself trouble by substituting for *tria milia* the well-known symbol for a thousand which our mathematicians use to denote infinity, ∞ , repeating it three times; and that then this symbol, unfamiliar to some later scribe, had been replaced by the symbol X repeated three times. Of such a corruption there are examples.¹ But since the *milia passuum* was written by Probus before the numeral, no scribe would have had any motive for changing the simple digits III into the more complicated figure." Conway from his long experience in manuscript study could not recall any example of such a corruption; and so he concluded that "the onus of showing that it could take place rests with those who regard III as the original reading and XXX as the corruption."

The theory involving the three infinity symbols does, I confess, have for me such an attraction that I am willing to assume the consequent 'onus.' In the first place, these symbols appear not only in their rounded form but also in two squared forms² ($\triangleright\triangleleft$ and $\triangleright<$) which very closely resemble the letter α . This greatly increases the possibility of confusion. In the second place it is possible to overcome the objections to the order of the words. For it is instructive to note that inscriptions often bear the mere Roman numerals without the words *milia passuum* when these words could be easily supplied from the context.³ Even more important for our purpose is the fact that in the manuscripts of Pliny's *Natural History* the same usage obtains.⁴ In fact, one sentence duplicates in remarkable fashion all the essential features of the Proban passage (*N. H.* 5, 2): *abest a Baelone oppido Baeticae proximo traiectu XXX*.⁵ These considerations lead me to con-

¹ Conway, however, did not favor the reader with any reference to this dangerous material, but I dare say he had in mind some such work as that of F. W. Shipley, *Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts*, New York, 1904, pp. 46 ff., especially 48-49. Here are cited numerous instances of the confusion of ∞ and X; and there even occur examples of $\infty \infty \infty$ copied as XXX.

² Cf. J. C. Egbert, *Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions*, New York, 1895, p. 75; Z. Volta, *Delle Abbreviature nella Paleografia latina*, Milan, 1892, p. 215; A. Cappelli, *Dizionario di Abbreviature latine ed italiane*, Milan, 1899, pp. 377-378.

³ E.g., in the case of milestones.

⁴ Cf. *N. H.* 5, 2; 5, 5; 5, 9; *et passim*.

⁵ I.e., *triginta milia passuum*. Cf. in the same section: *ab eo XXV abest* and *ab ea XXXV abest*.

jecture that the reading in x^1 was: *abest a Mantua* $\times \times \times$; ¹ that above the three symbols, and perhaps a bit to the left, someone wrote *milia passuum* to supply words which he mistakenly thought necessary in the light of the context; that the scribe of z with easy error read the passage as *milia passuum XXX*; that Egnatius understood the symbols, as we should expect him² to, and expanded them quite correctly into *milia passuum III*, putting the numeral last perhaps under the influence of the gloss. Here, then, is a reasonable explanation for all the details of both traditions. If absolute proof cannot be reached, at least the evidence clearly favors the reading of Egnatius.

Where was ancient Andes? Perhaps we shall never know just where; but if the reading in the archetype of our manuscripts of 'Probus' was what I have maintained and if the word of this writer may claim our credence, then Andes was distant from Mantua *milia passuum III*.

¹ Or perhaps $\times \times \times \times \times$ or $\infty \infty \infty$, for really it is neither possible nor necessary to be dogmatic on this point.

² His learning displayed elsewhere gives us to believe that he was capable and scholarly; cf. Rand, *C. Q.* XXVI (1932), pp. 8 ff., particularly 10-11.

THE KYLIX BY THE FOUNDRY PAINTER IN THE FOGG MUSEUM¹

BY WILHELMINA VAN INGEN

AN ATTIC red-figured kylix with arming scenes in the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University² was seen by Beazley during his visit to America and assigned by him to the Foundry Painter.³ Since then reference has several times been made to the cup,⁴ but photographs and a detailed description of it have never been published.⁵

¹ I wish to express my gratitude to Dean George H. Chase, at whose suggestion a study of the kylix was first undertaken as part of a Radcliffe doctoral thesis, and to whose generous suggestions and helpful criticism I owe much. To Dr. Edith Hall Dohan I am indebted for information about the kylix in Philadelphia.

² 27.149 (old number 1642.95); the gift of Mr. E. P. Warren. Height, 9.7 cm.; diameter of bowl, 23.3 cm.; diameter including handles, 30.2 cm. The vase is in an excellent state of preservation, being unchipped and without breakages; on the handles, foot and a part of the rim there is a hard incrustation which cleaning has failed to remove.

³ J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1918), p. 94; on pp. 93-94 are mentioned other vases by the same painter. To Beazley's revised list of attributions in *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* (Tübingen, 1925), pp. 186-187, 474, there have subsequently been added the following: two kylix fragments in Heidelberg, B 30 and B 23, W. Kraiker, *Katalog der Sammlung antiker Kleinkunst des archäologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg*, erster Band, *Die rotfigurigen attischen Vasen* (Berlin, 1931), pp. 23-24, nos. 73 and 74, with pl. 10; a kylix in the University Museum, Philadelphia, E. H. Dohan, *Museum Journal*, XXIII (1932), pp. 33-44, with figs. 10-13, 16, 18 [hereafter cited as "Dohan"]; its companion piece, Munich 2614, A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich, 1900-1932), II, pp. 133-135, figs. 35-37, and Dohan, pp. 40-41, figs. 14, 15; and, tentatively, the kylikes Munich 2640 and Villa Giulia 50559, Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 86 and P. Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1893), pl. 54 (cf. Dohan, p. 41).

⁴ By L. D. Caskey, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Part I (Oxford, 1931), pp. 27, 28 [hereafter cited as "Caskey"]; Dohan, p. 39, n. 14, and p. 40; L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, II (1933), p. 220, n. 2.

⁵ It is mentioned in *Fogg Art Museum Handbook* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931), p. 16.

It is the purpose of this article to supply these and to comment briefly on certain peculiarities of technique and costume.

The shape (Figure 1), with its slight moulding near the top of the foot, is almost identical with that of several other cups decorated by the Foundry Painter.¹ The insides of the handles and patches between the handle-attachments are reserved, in accordance with the usual practice;² reserved also are the edge of the foot and the inside of the stem, the narrow band just within the rim, and a pair of similar bands which serve as a ground-line for the scenes on the exterior. Like the other cups attributed to the artist, this one has no palmette-scrolls beneath the handles.

The medallion on the interior (Figure 2) is encircled by a band of stopped maeanders. In it is a bearded, long-haired warrior who stands in frontal position with his right leg bent and his weight on his left leg (the preliminary sketch is very clear); he leans on the spear in his right hand and with his left steadies the shield which stands on edge in front of him, hiding his legs almost completely. He wears a peculiar brief skirt or loin-cloth, patterned, three-tiered and belted, and a dotted, bordered chlamys which is folded and draped scarf-fashion over his arms and back. The top of a greave can be seen projecting beyond the edge of the shield, and his head is protected by a crested Athenian helmet with raised cheek-pieces; the shield-device is a scorpion.

On the exterior, we may call the arming scene the obverse and the scene of combat the reverse. At the left of the obverse (Figure 3) is a youth who stands in a pose like that of the man on the interior, except that the right hand, which holds the spear, is outstretched. His costume is similar also: the shield hides the figure below the waist, but the sketch lines show a tiered skirt which in this case has a

¹ Boston 10.195, Caskey, p. 27, fig. 23; Brussels R 322, *Corpus Vasorum antiquorum*, Bruxelles, fasc. 1, III I c, pl. 3, 1 a; Musée Scheurleer 1850, *Corpus Vasorum antiquorum*, Musée Scheurleer, fasc. 1, III I c, pl. 4, 2; Munich 2640, Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, II, p. 132, fig. 34; Philadelphia, Dohan, p. 34, fig. 10.

² For the purpose of these reserved patches, see H. R. W. Smith, "New Aspects of the Menon Painter," *University of California Publications in classical Archaeology*, I, no. 1 (Berkeley, 1929), p. 10.



FIGURE I
Kylix in the Fogg Museum. Elevation



FIGURE 2
Kylix in the Fogg Museum. Interior



FIGURE 3
Kylix in the Fogg Museum. Obverse

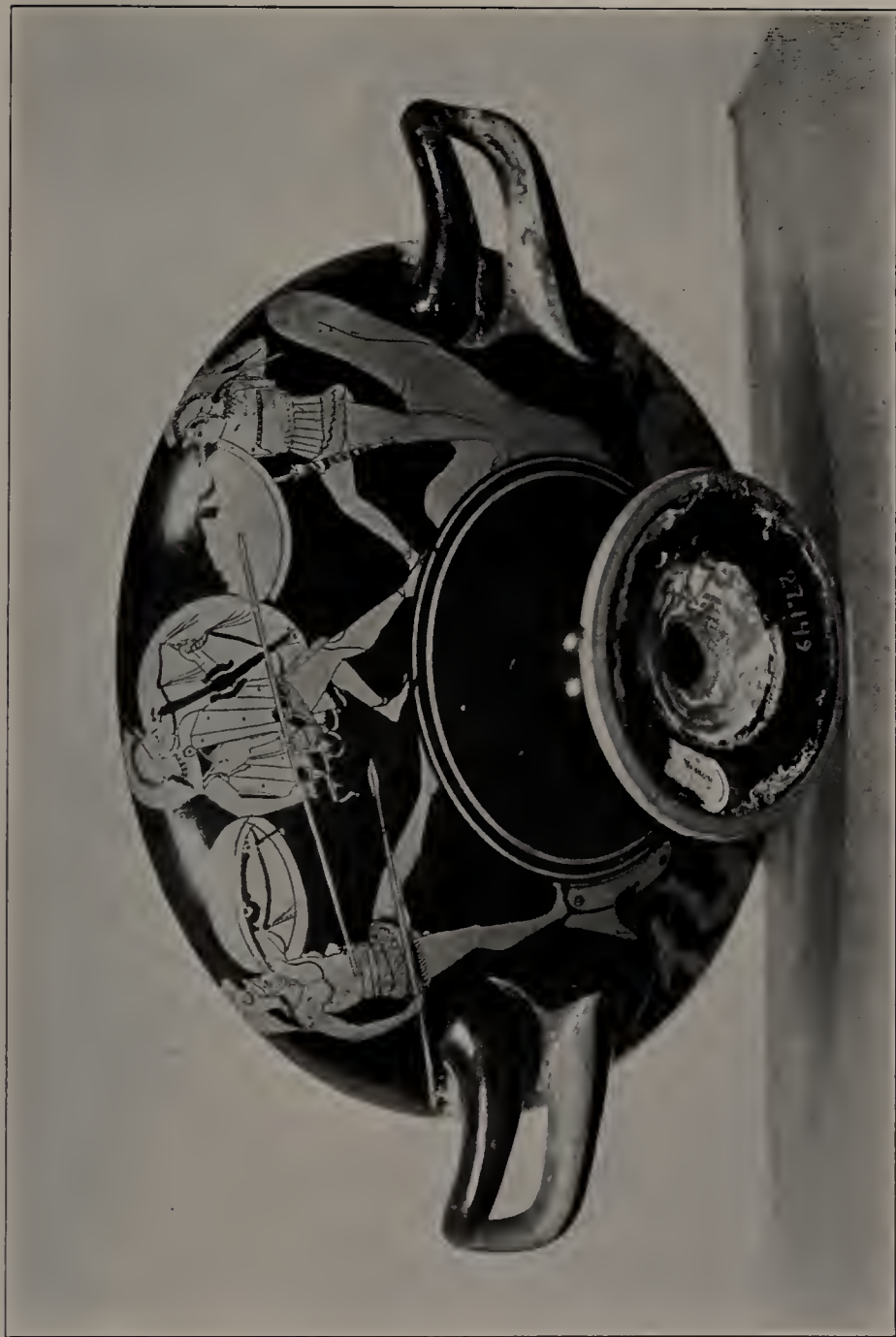


FIGURE 4
Kylix in the Fogg Museum. Reverse

broad, triple belt. However, greaves are not indicated in the preliminary drawing, and the chlamys is without dots. The shield-device is a snake. This young warrior, ready and waiting, looks over his shoulder at the youth in the center of the picture, who has all but finished arming and is stooping to lift his spear from the ground. Like his companion, he has long curls and wears a crested Athenian helmet with the cheek-pieces raised. His legs are protected by greaves, and his body is entirely obscured by the shield on his left arm; in this case the painter did not sketch in the outlines of the body and the costume first. The shield is decorated with a kantharos and provided with a flap, vandyked on the lower edge and fastened to the rim by studs or nails.¹ The third figure in the scene turns his back on the others. He is seen in profile to the right; balancing on his right foot, he bends over to insert his left leg in the greave. The other greave and his shield lie on the ground in front of him and his spear is propped against the wall. The shield has for its device an irregularly-shaped spot between two circles.² This youth is nude; his short hair is bound by a fillet, and a sword in its scabbard is suspended at his left side.

A possible sequel to the arming scene is presented on the reverse, with a different set of actors (Figure 4). A warrior is attacking two others. The assailant, at the right of the picture, lunges forward, with his shield arm advanced to protect his body and his right arm raised, ready to thrust the spear at his opponent. At his back is a stylized rock, behind which he may have been hiding while waiting for the two who would seem to have been walking along together, their spears swinging idly by their sides. The man in front recoils in surprise from the threatening spear of his adversary, and with the resultant backward movement of his right hand the butt of his spear hits the man behind him, who has not yet checked his advance. By the simple expedient of a short, curved line the artist has shown the impact of the spear-butt against the soft flesh; by parting the lips he has all but made us hear a grunt of pained surprise. The attacker wears a helmet like those on the obverse and a thorax, below which appears a two-tiered skirt;

¹ Cf. E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Hope Vases* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 75.

² For this device on other vases by the Foundry Painter, cf. Caskey, p. 27, and Dohan, p. 41, with n. 20, where the bull's head cut in half on the *reverse* of the Fogg cup seems to be confused with Caskey's "nondescript dot" on the obverse.

his shield-device is a bull's head; in addition to his spear he has a sword suspended at his side by a baldric for which the sketch line was drawn, but which was omitted in the final painting. The warrior in the center also wears the thorax and two-tiered skirt and a crested helmet of a different type, with lowered cheek-pieces; below the nape-piece dots of glaze represent his hair. He carries his shield so as to afford a clear view of the inside with its arm-strap and grips; he has the additional protection of greaves and he wears a dotted and bordered cloak of an unusual type in which the material seems to be pleated into a fitted yoke buttoned under the chin. The man at the left wears a three-tiered loin-cloth with a heavy, double belt, and he is armed with a crested helmet with curved peak and lowered cheek-pieces, a shield, spear and sword; the baldric of the latter is sketched but not painted.

Relief line outlines the figures and accessories throughout, except for the reserved band around the hair of the youth at the right on the obverse. Thinned glaze is used not only for the inner anatomical markings but also for the patterns on the garments and the short, hatched strokes which model the convexity of the shields and indicate the hair on the body of the man on the interior. There are no traces of applied red.

The preliminary sketch lines are remarkably clear.¹ The legs of the two frontal figures were sketched in completely before the shields covering them were drawn with the compass. Even the loin-cloth of the youth on the obverse was drawn in some detail, not forgetting the pointed tabs on its lower edge. Alterations were made in several of the figures. The position of the right foot of the youth at the left on the reverse was changed slightly in the final version, and the lower leg made somewhat thicker. In this scene the base of the rock was extended to fill more of the space between the righthand warrior's feet than was originally intended. But the finished drawing is not always an improvement on the first sketch. For instance, the right leg of the man at the right on the reverse is too thick: the relief line which outlines the back of the leg follows one sketch line, but there is another

¹ Cf. Dohan, pp. 35, 37, 39, for an account of the sketch lines and alterations on the kylix in Philadelphia.

sketch line within this which presumably represents the final version, forgotten or disregarded when the painter came to complete his drawing. He forgot other details which he had indicated in his first sketch: the baldrics supporting the swords of the man in question, of the one at the left in the same scene and of the one who is greaving himself on the obverse;¹ the lower edge of one of the greaves of the central figure on the obverse. On the left leg of the righthand figure on the reverse he painted the bottom of the greave, with a second line below it to indicate the pad which prevented the metal from chafing the ankle, but he did not paint in the top of this greave, nor did he put one on the other leg. There are no sketch lines to indicate that greaves were intended, though we should expect them on a warrior who wears the thorax.

From such inconsistencies and omissions one infers that the painter either was deliberately careless or, more probably, was forced to hurry his work.² Other evidences are the drop of glaze which ran from the background across the face and into the shield of the central figure on the obverse, and the strokes of glaze which interrupt the reserved band below the feet of the central figure on the reverse.

While there are an unusual number of such "mistakes" on the kylix at Harvard, they can be found on other vases by the Foundry Painter. On the kylix in the Hague, for instance, the baldric appears to have been omitted.³ Mrs. Dohan informs me that in the centauiromachy scene on the cup in Philadelphia, there is a preliminary sketch line for the bottom of the greave on the left leg of the righthand figure, though the painting was never completed in relief line or in applied red; and that on the lefthand figure, where the bottoms of both greaves are omitted, there are no sketch lines and no traces of red.

¹ There is nothing to indicate that these baldrics were originally painted in applied red, which has since vanished. For applied red baldrics on vases by the Foundry Painter, see the cup with arming scenes in Boston (Caskey, pl. 11), the reverse of the cup in Philadelphia (Dohan, p. 38, fig. 13), and Munich 2640.

² Unless we are to suppose that the background was filled in by an inexperienced or clumsy apprentice after the artist had painted the figures and outlined them with contour-stripes. Cf. Smith, "New Aspects of the Menon Painter," p. 11.

³ In the reproduction in *Corpus Vasorum antiquorum*, Musée Scheurleer, fasc. 1, III I c, pl. 4, 1, a line is visible which is presumably a sketch line, since there is no mention in the text of applied red.

Similar omissions can be detected on the available reproductions of both of the centauiromachy cups in Munich: on 2614, the lower edges of the greave on the left leg of the man at the left, and of the right leg of the man at the right on the obverse;¹ on 2640, the lower edge of the greave on the right leg of the victorious Greek on the interior, and on both legs of the warrior at the left on the obverse. A different sort of inconsistency is found on the interior of the foundry kylix in Berlin,² where "Hephaistos" wears a chiton which has on its left side a short sleeve, fastened by two buttons, while on the right there is a large arm-hole and one button. Hartwig pointed out³ that on the cup, Villa Giulia 50559, the spots are omitted from the skin knee-piece and boot-flap on the right leg of the man at the left on the reverse; and that his mantle is of the heavy, "Thracian" type above the horse and an ordinary himation below.

The subject of the Harvard vase was a favorite one with the Foundry Painter. Of the twenty vases and fragments which have at various times been attributed to him, nine have to do with arming and combat. On the cups in Boston, the Hague and the Villa Giulia the subject is arming alone, though on the latter, cavalymen, already armed and waiting, rather than the more usual footsoldiers, are depicted; the cup in Brussels carries the theme a little further, for one of the youths blows a trumpet as if to call his companions to battle and another practices thrusting with his spear, while a third lunges at an imaginary enemy. The cup in the Fogg Museum depicts both arming and skirmish, and furious battles rage on the one in Philadelphia and the two in Munich. Arming is brought into the realms of craftsmanship and of mythology on the eponymous kylix in Berlin, where the statue of a light-armed warrior is being completed on the exterior and Thetis receives the armor of Achilles from Hephaistos on the interior.⁴

The kylix in the Fogg Museum shows that "not always ineffective coarsening of the Brygan style" which Beazley has given as the essential characteristic of the art of the Foundry Painter.⁵ The influence of

¹ As shown in the drawing, Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, II, p. 133, fig. 35. ² Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 135.

³ *Die griechischen Meisterschalen*, p. 512, with n. 1.

⁴ Cf. F. Hauser, in Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, III, p. 82.

⁵ *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums*, p. 94.

the Brygos Painter is evident not only in the treatment of the subject¹ but in the figures as well: the bearded man on the interior² and the youths on the exterior, with their round heads, big noses, protruding lower lips and long, narrow eyes.³ Brygos are such details as the dotted chlamydes with bordered ends, arranged scarf-fashion,⁴ and the archaic rendering of the *recti abdominis*.⁵ But while the Brygos Painter's every stroke is drawn with complete effectiveness, there is an uncertainty of touch in his follower's handling. This is particularly evident in the little strokes of thinned glaze which model the shields: whether closely-spaced and "woolly" as on this cup, or farther apart and with a little dot of glaze at the end, as on the one in Philadelphia, they are very different from the sure strokes of the Brygos Painter.⁶ There is the same contrast between the two painters' rendering of bodily hair.⁷ Perhaps the failure to stop some of his lines at the proper point⁸ and the sharp outline of the profile knee are other signs of an imperfectly controlled hand. It would almost seem as if the painter sometimes found difficulty in drawing curved lines.⁹ Allied to what appears to be a lack of complete mastery over his medium is a failure to appreciate fully the significance of line, both for its decorative value and for its ability to model forms in the round and to create people "made like us out of flesh and air."¹⁰ So his figures are less subtly modelled than the Brygos Painter's and his inner markings are placed with less

¹ Cf. Caskey's remarks (p. 28) about the kylix with arming scenes in Boston.

² Cf. Chrysippos on the interior of the Brygos Painter's kylix, London E 65 (Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, I, p. 239).

³ For the eyes, cf. Caskey, p. 30. For the heads, compare, for instance, that of the youth at the right on the obverse of the Harvard cup with the one on a kylix by the Brygos Painter in Boston (Caskey, pl. 10, 28).

⁴ Cf. Talcott, *Hesperia*, II (1933), p. 221, with n. 4.

⁵ Cf. Smith, "New Aspects of the Menon Painter," p. 22.

⁶ Cf. the Iliupersis kylix, Louvre G 152 (Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 25).

⁷ Compare the warrior on the interior of the Harvard cup with the Zeus of the Brygos Painter's kantharos, Boston 95.36 (Caskey, pl. 6).

⁸ On the interior of the Harvard cup, where the lines of the belt run into the chlamys and those of the bottom of the loin-cloth into the shield.

⁹ Cf. Smith, "New Aspects of the Menon Painter," p. 17, n. 16.

¹⁰ Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums*, p. 93; cf. Caskey, p. 20, for the "masterly drawing" of the Brygos Painter.

telling effect; he has memorized a system which he sometimes uses without thought of its original significance.

But to compare the Foundry Painter with the Brygos Painter is to compare him with one of the greatest masters of the red-figured style. When placed with the ordinary work of the period his compositions are seen to possess a feeling for vigorous action¹ and a sense of realism,² to which is frequently added originality of subject-matter³ and a sense of humour,⁴ and for the expression of these qualities his drawing is adequate.

The Foundry Painter's interest in the unusual manifests itself not only in his choice of subject-matter but also in certain details of costume such as the yoked cloak on the reverse of the Harvard cup and the peculiar loin-cloths worn by some of the warriors on the same vase, for which I have been able to discover no exact parallels. The garments in question are worn by the warrior on the interior of the cup and by the left-most youths on both obverse and reverse. They are characterized by their skirt-like cut, their multiple tiers with vandyked, scalloped or fringed edges, their dotted lattice pattern, and their belts, each one of which differs from the others. The one on the interior is narrow and decorated with a simple pattern, while those on the exterior are wider and made of several folds, which in the one on the reverse have a saliency as if padded.⁵ On Greek and South Italian

¹ This is particularly evident in the Philadelphia and Munich centaureomachy pieces and, to a milder degree, in the palaestra scenes on the cup, British Museum E 78 (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXVI [1906], pl. 13).

² For instance the bruised cheek of the boxer on the British Museum cup and the wounds of Greeks and centaurs on the one in Philadelphia.

³ As on the eponymous kylix, Berlin 2294 (cf. F. Hauser, in Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, III, p. 81) and the one in Munich, 2650, depicting the presentation of the Wooden Horse (E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder* [Berlin, 1840-58], pls. 229-230; a better reproduction of the obverse in *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, XLIV [1929], p. 25, fig. 15).

⁴ Witness the reverse of the Harvard cup and the exterior of the symposium cup, Boston 01.8034 (Caskey, pl. 12), where one of the serving boys is so absorbed in watching the banqueters that he is oblivious to the urgent summons of his companion to fill the cups.

⁵ These folds are not to be confused with the loose folds which result from the pushing down around the waist of the upper part of the chiton, as on the interior of the Foundry Painter's cup in the Hague.

vases the closest parallel is the "blanket-apron" made of some stiff, heavy material decorated with simple geometric patterns. Though generally held to be peculiar to the "Polygnotan" group of vases,¹ it does occur in the ripe archaic period.² To be sure, individual features of the loin-cloths in question can occasionally be duplicated elsewhere in red-figured vase-painting; for instance, the tiers with scalloped³ or fringed⁴ edges and the multiple folds at the waist.⁵ But in nature and function the blanket-apron is nearer than anything else to the loin-cloths on the Harvard cup.⁶

In this connection it may be profitable to speculate about the material of which the latter were made. Leather and felt have been suggested as the material of the blanket-aprons.⁷ Now the vandyked

¹ Cf. A. Furtwängler, in Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, II, p. 90; M. F. Swindler, *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXVIII (1924), p. 288. Theseus of the stamnos, Oxford 522 (*Corpus Vasorum antiquorum*, Oxford, fasc. 1, III I, pl. 29, 3), affords a good example of its use by Polygnotos.

² On the kylix, Vatican H 541, by the Triptolemus Painter (*Museo Etrusco Gregoriano* [Rome, 1842], II, pl. 86, 2), where it is worn over a thin chiton; and on the hydria, British Museum E 167, by the Painter of the Petrograd Amphora (*Corpus Vasorum antiquorum*, British Museum, fasc. 5, III I c, pl. 79, 1 a).

³ On the loin-cloth of a warrior on a skyphos by the Brygos Painter in Thebes (*Annual of the British School at Athens*, XIV [1907/08], pl. 14, top).

⁴ On the garment worn beneath the thorax of one of the warriors on the kylix signed by the potter Brygos in Frankfurt (H. Schaal, *Griechische Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen* [Frankfurt am Main, 1923], pl. 31), which is decorated with a lattice pattern.

⁵ On the blanket-apron on the Triptolemus Painter's kylix mentioned cf. n. 2 above; on the unpatterned blanket-aprons on the hydria, British Museum E 168, by the Syriskos Painter (*Corpus Vasorum antiquorum*, British Museum, fasc. 5, III I c, pl. 74, 2 a, c).

⁶ Though at first glance the loin-cloths on a statue of the Roman period from Carthage (Delattre, *Musée Lavigerie de Saint-Louis de Carthage*, II [Paris, 1899], pl. 8, 1, and p. 34) and certain terracotta statuettes (F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* [Berlin and Stuttgart, 1903], II, p. 325, 1; p. 369, 6; and p. 457, 2; H. von Rohden, *Die Terracotten von Pompeii* [Stuttgart, 1880], pl. 25) may appear very like the loin-cloths on our vase, by reason of their three-tiered skirts and folds about the waist, it will readily be seen that the tabs are much larger, so that each tier consists of a row of tabs, rather than of a piece of material with a vandyked edge, and that the folds around the waist are much looser.

⁷ A. Furtwängler, in Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, I, p. 188; II, p. 90.

edging of the lowest tiers of the loin-cloths on the interior and obverse of the Harvard cup is duplicated on the shield-aprons on this cup, the Boston cup with arming scenes, and the centauromachy cup in Munich. Such shield-aprons are represented frequently on vases of the period, and they are generally said to be of some stiff material such as leather or felt.¹ And the same finish is found on the flaps of boots,² which must certainly have been made of leather.³ Such pointed tabs are an appropriate finish for leather or for felt, but a most impractical one for woven cloth, which would ravel unless it were bound or overcast. The scalloped edging of the upper tiers, though less impractical as a finish for cloth, is certainly a fitting one for leather or felt. So is the fringe which edges the lowest tier of the loin-cloth on the reverse: the heavy line at the top of the fringe suggests the "heading" of a separate trimming, applied, as it would be to leather, rather than a fringe ravelled from woven cloth. It may be added that the loin-cloth on the skyphos by the Brygos Painter, mentioned on p. 163, note 3, and the fringed skirt appearing below the thorax of the man at the left on the obverse of the Foundry Painter's cup, Munich 2640, are patterned with irregularly-shaped spots exactly like the skin alopekides worn by Amazons and figures in "Thracian" dress on the vases of the period.⁴ As for the dotted lattice pattern used on all the loin-cloths on the Harvard vase, it may very well represent a design painted on leather — that is, if the painter was giving a literal representation of an actual garment, rather than filling in a blank space with a pattern that pleased his fancy.

¹ A. Bauer, in I. von Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*, IV, I, 2 (2nd ed., Munich, 1893), p. 351; W. Reichel, *Homerische Waffen* (Vienna, 1901), p. 26, n. 1; C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, I, 2 (Paris, 1887), pp. 1251-1252, s.v. *clipeus*; Beazley, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LIII (1933), p. 69; Caskey, p. 27, calls the apron on the Boston cup a "cloth." On a kylix in Corneto assigned to Epiktetos, the shield-apron is part of an actual panther-skin, with paws and tail (*Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, XLIV [1929], p. 195, fig. 38).

² As on the Foundry Painter's cup in Boston and on Munich 2640.

³ Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, V (Paris, n.d.), p. 772, s.v. *vestis militaris*.

⁴ For instance this same skyphos by the Brygos Painter, and the Foundry Painter's cup, Villa Giulia 50559 (cf. C. Watzinger, in Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, III, p. 357).

If made of leather or felt, these loin-cloths would serve a definite purpose in affording extra protection for a light-armed warrior. A similar suggestion has already been made in connection with the blanket-apron, which is sometimes worn over the thin chiton.¹ Perhaps the heavy belts which accompany two of the loin-cloths were intended to give additional protection to the vulnerable parts of the body.²

On the two youths at the right on the reverse of the Harvard cup two-tiered skirts with scalloped edges, patterned like the loin-cloths, show below the pteruges of the corselets. The question arises whether these are loin-cloths like the others or the skirts of complete tunics. It is known that normally, in the late sixth and fifth centuries, the thin chiton was worn beneath the thorax.³ The thin folds of the skirt hang below the pteruges, and a bit of the sleeve, if it is a sleeved chiton,⁴ or of the cloth of the waist if it is not,⁵ is often drawn emerging from the arm-hole of the thorax, but this is not an invariable practice, and even if none of the waist of the chiton can be seen there is no reason for assuming that it is not worn.⁶ Often on red-figured vases some-

¹ Swindler, *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXVIII (1924), p. 288. Examples are the kylix by the Triptolemus Painter cited on p. 163, n. 2, and Hektor on a Polygnotan amphora in the University Museum (*University Museum Bulletin*, II [1931], pl. 10).

² Cf. the multiple belts on archaic bronze statuettes from Delphi (F. Poulsen, *Delphi* [London, n.d.], p. 67, figs. 13-14; P. Perdrizet, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, XXI [1897], pp. 172-173, figs. 1-5), which are explained by the author (*op. cit.*, pp. 171-178) as a survival of the Homeric *μῆρη*; but cf. E. H. Dohan, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, III (1931), p. 211, figs. 5 and 7, with p. 214. Analogous, though much later in date, are the *fasciae* worn by the *aurigae* of the Roman circus (Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, I, 2 [Paris, 1887], p. 1196, s.v. *circus*).

³ A good example is the amphora in Munich, painted by Euthymides, showing the arming of Hektor (Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 14), where the waist of the chiton shows beneath the as yet unfastened thorax.

⁴ As with the fully-armed warriors on the Foundry Painter's cups in Boston and Brussels (*Corpus Vasorum antiquorum*, Bruxelles, fasc. 1, III I c, pl. 3, 1 b, c and d).

⁵ As with Achilles on the Achilles Painter's amphora, Vatican H 487 (Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 167, 2).

⁶ Cf. the warrior donning his thorax on a kylix, Bologna 1151, by the Euaion Painter (*Corpus Vasorum antiquorum*, Bologna, fasc. 1, III I c, pl. 17, 1).

thing like a blanket-apron shows below the thorax.¹ This is probably the lower part of the tunic of heavy material that appears, along with the blanket-apron, on vases of the "classic" style² and is used a number of times by the Achilles Painter.³ Or possibly it is the blanket-apron itself, worn over the thin chiton. The thorax would chafe if worn next to the skin, unless it were padded, and I have been able to find no indication that this was ever done.

So by analogy the fully-armed warriors on the Harvard cup must wear beneath their corselets either complete tunics with two-tiered skirts (of course a third tier may be hidden beneath the pteruges of the thorax), made of leather or felt like the loin-cloths on the same vase, or else such loin-cloths over thin chitons. Naturally this assumption holds true only if the painter was literally recording garments which he had observed, rather than fancifully creating a fashion of his own. It is not impossible that, if he painted the loin-cloths first, he became so enamoured of tiers and scallops that he continued to use them for the fully-armed warriors, without thought of what would actually be worn beneath the thorax, for we have already seen⁴ that he was not always capable of consistent thinking. But however the loin-cloths and skirts are to be interpreted, their novelty combines with the humour in the skirmish on the reverse to give the Foundry Painter's characteristic touch of the unusual to an everyday scene.

¹ For instance on the amphora, British Museum E 285, by the Alkimachos Painter (*Corpus Vasorum antiquorum, British Museum*, fasc. 5, III I c, pl. 46, 3 b).

² Swindler, *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXVIII (1924), pp. 287-288.

³ Cf. Beazley, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXIV (1914), p. 216, with p. 200, fig. 17 and pl. 14 b.

⁴ Cf. p. 159.

A PROBLEM IN THE *ICHNEUTAE* OF SOPHOCLES¹

By FRANCIS REDDING WALTON

I

IT IS one of the most striking features of Sophocles's satyr play, the *Ichneutae*, that the chorus of satyrs act as if they were a pack of hunting dogs. This is particularly noticeable in the "tracking scene" proper (82-214), the scene from which the play derives its name. One of the earliest commentators on the play was led to say,² after quoting Pollux, 5, 10: *ἰχνευτῆς ἀνὴρ καὶ κύων*, "diese *θηῆρες* [i.e. the satyrs] wirklich Hundenatur zeigen." A little later he adds:³ "Im übrigen sind die Tiere, was der Name sagt: die vierbeinige Gang ist ihnen ganz natürlich, und dass Sophokles sie sich als Hunde benehmen lässt, für die Auffassung der Athener recht belehrend." In a note, he says he seems to recall vase paintings portraying the satyrs as dogs, but is unable to give the citations off-hand.

The play offers ample justification for these remarks of Wilamowitz. Aside from being designated as the children of Silenus (*παῖδας δ' ἐμ[ού]ς*, 47; cf. 57), the only name of the satyrs is that of 'animal.' And while the *κάκιστα θηρῶν* (141) and *ὦ κάκιστα θηρίων* (147), addressed to them by Silenus, may seem to be mere terms of abuse, there still remains the occasion when Cyllene calls them *θηῆρες* (215). To interpret this also as abuse would be to impute to Sophocles an excessive lack of imagination in matters vituperative; furthermore, Cyllene's first speech is gently remonstrative rather than abusive. *θηῆρες* is then their proper title.⁴ Their specifically canine nature is shown in a number of places. The direc-

¹ It is a pleasure to express my gratitude to Professors C. R. Post and A. D. Nock, for many kind suggestions, to Professor J. Whatmough, for the content of several notes, and to Mr. S. Dow and Mr. A. Philadelphus, Director of the Athenian National Museum, for their kindness in procuring a photograph of the relief.

² U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "Die Spürhunde des Sophokles," *Neue Jahrbücher f. das klassische Altertum*, XXIX (1912), p. 453, n. 2.

³ *Id.*, pp. 454-455.

⁴ It is also used elsewhere for the satyr chorus, e.g., Eur. *Cycl.* 624.

tions given them by Silenus in lines 87-93 are suitable to dogs. The phrases *ῥινηλατῶν ὀσμ[αῖσι]* (88) and *ὑποσμος ἐν χροῶ* (91) suggest to Wilamowitz that they alternately sniff the air and put their muzzles to the ground,¹ and *διπλοῦς ὀκλάζω[ν]*, the unemended reading of the papyrus (90), may mean that they crouch down on all fours. Silenus promises to direct them by a *κυνορτικὸν σύριγμα* (167), and the whole choral passage, lines 170-196, appears to represent a pack of hounds (endowed with speech) spurring one another on in the hunt. Wijnpersse remarks especially that line 195, *ἐπ[ι]θι [ἐ]πεχ' εἴσιθι ἴθι*, is like an exhortation to a dog to spring on its prey.² The verb *κυνηγετέω*, or one of its by-forms or compounds, occurs four times in the extant fragments (15, 44, 75, and 119); with the possible exception of the first occurrence, there is no reason why it should not be taken in its most literal sense. Cyllene tells the satyrs that she has heard the "sonorous cry as of huntsmen," *πρέπον κέλευμά πως κ[υ]νηγετ[ῶ]ν* (225), probably in reference to the lyrical passage, lines 170-196, where, strictly speaking, the chorus are both the huntsmen and the hunting dogs.

Whether or not it is their dog-like actions which call forth the comments of Silenus in lines 118-124 is uncertain. Allègre thinks that Silenus is shocked by their dance, which from a dramatic point of view is little more than a ballet.³ Bethe and Bucherer, on the other hand, think the satyrs have *just* heard the lyre, instead of before line 108, and that they have in consequence stopped hunting.⁴ In this case the words "what new way of hunting is this?" are sarcastic, and this is perhaps the better interpretation. Vollgraff,⁵ who with Wilamowitz reads *ἀκολουθία* in line 15, cites Xenophon, *Cyn.* 10, 5, to prove that this is a hunting

¹ Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 456.

² W. M. A. van de Wijnpersse, *De Terminologie van het Jachtwezen bij Sophocles* (Amsterdam, 1929), p. 31.

³ F. Allègre, "Les Limiers, drame satyrique de Sophocle," *Revue des Études anciennes*, XV (1913), p. 254.

⁴ E. Bethe, "Die Ichneutai des Sophokles," *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, LXXI (1919), p. 10; F. Bucherer, *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, XXXIII (1913), pp. 579-580.

⁵ G. Vollgraff, "Ad Sophoclis Indagatores," *Mnemosyne*, XLII (1914), p. 82.

term, and takes this as an indication that Apollo brought dogs on the stage with him. Unless this should be the chorus of dog-satyrs, which seems unlikely in view of lines 35-36, I do not believe that we can accept this suggestion.

Even omitting these dubious cases, the general course of the action and the specific points mentioned prove quite conclusively that the satyrs are here intended to display a canine nature. It is to be regretted that we do not know just how they were dressed for the stage. Pickard-Cambridge¹ reached the conclusion "that the choruses of the Athenian satyric drama were of the equine, not of the caprine type, and that there are no goat-demons in Attic art early enough to support the opposite view." His arguments seem to dispose quite conclusively of the idea that the τραγωδοί were singers dressed like goats, but I find it surprising that he nowhere in his book considers the possibility that in this one play the satyrs were made up like dogs. The idea of presenting on the stage a chorus of satyrs dressed like horses and acting like dogs seems too bizarre to have been conceivable even in fifth-century Athens, accustomed as it was to archaic and unrealistic conventions.²

But whatever the costumes of the chorus may have been, it is clear that certain canine features are emphasized throughout the play, and it is in connection with this aspect of the *Ichneutae* that a striking parallel³ is to be found in an Attic inscription from the first decade of the fourth century, *I. G.* II, 1651. It was found near Zea in the Peiraeus, and comes from the Asclepieion there. The first section, which alone is from this early date, reads as follows:

θεοί. κατὰ τὰδε προθύεσθαι· Μαλεάτῃ πόπανα τρία· Ἀπόλλωνι πόπανα τρία· Ἑρμῇ πόπανα τρία· Ἰασοῖ πόπανα τρία· Ἀκεσοῖ πόπανα τρία·

¹ A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy* (Oxford, 1927), p. 158.

² The difficulty lies in the lack of any parallel for dog-satyrs, as all the vase paintings, with the possible exception of that referred to by Wilamowitz, show equine satyrs. And however strange it might seem to us, it must be remembered that ancient audiences were accustomed to the comic choruses, which often acted in a way quite out of keeping with the character of their costumes.

³ Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 466, has also remarked this, but carries it no further.

Πανακείαι πόπανα τρία· Κυσὶν πόπανα τρία· Κυνηγέταις πόπανα τρί[α].
 Εὐθύδημος Ἐλευσίνιος ἱερεὺς Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὰς στήλας ἀνέθηκ[ε] τὰς πρὸς
 τοῖς βωμοῖς, ἐν αἷς τὰ πόπανα πρῶτος ἐξηικάσατο ἃ χρὴ πρ[ο]θύεσθ[αι] . . .
 It contains a list, set up by the altar, of the προθύματα, or preliminary sacrifices,¹ which must be offered before the main sacrifice to Asclepius was performed. Among those to be so honored were Apollo and Hermes, the two main figures in the legend on which the *Ichneutae* was based, and the rather puzzling Κύνες and Κυνηγέται, who at least remind us of the *Ichneutae*. It may further be noted that in line 37 of the play Apollo refers to himself as Παιών, a name connected with healing gods, and applied to both Apollo and Asclepius; its use here is peculiar, as there is no apparent occasion for the use of this cult name in the context.

The cumulative effect of these items seems sufficient to raise the question of the possibility of some connection between the *Ichneutae*, or its author, and the ritual prescribed for the Peiraeus Asclepieion. Or are these apparent points of contact no more than a curious coincidence? This paper will attempt an examination of that question. To do so it will be necessary to consider the problem from several different angles.

II

First we may consider the relation of Sophocles himself to healing gods and heroes. Here the *Vita*, ch. 11, provides a starting point. The majority of the MSS read:

ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἄλωνος ἱερωσύνην, ὃς ἦρως μετὰ Ἀσκληπιοῦ παρὰ Χείρωνι ἰδρυνθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἰοφῶντος τοῦ υἱοῦ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν.

There is obviously some corruption in the text of the MSS. Bergk indicated a lacuna after Χείρωνι, while Meineke inserted τραφεῖς, a very acceptable reading. Of the Ἄλων (or Ἄλων, MS Γ'), whose priest Sophocles is said to have been, nothing is known: Meineke conjectured Ἄλκωνος, a reading which was at the time generally accepted.

¹ The πόπανα were one of the many types of cakes used in minor sacrifices.

However, in the German excavations¹ at Athens in 1892, the precinct of a hero-physician was discovered on the western slope of the Acropolis. The inscriptions proved that it belonged to a hero or demi-god "Αμυνος, with whom, in the fourth century, were closely associated Asclepius and Δεξίων. An entry in the *Etymologicum Magnum* furnishes the following interesting information:²

Δεξίων· οὕτως ὠνομάσθη Σοφοκλῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν. φασὶν ὅτι Ἀθηναῖοι τελευτήσαντι Σοφοκλεῖ, βουλόμενοι τιμὰς αὐτῷ περιποιῆσαι, ἡρώϊον αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαντες, ὠνόμασαν αὐτὸν Δεξίωνα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ δεξιώσεως. καὶ γὰρ ὑπεδέξατο τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ οἰκίᾳ καὶ βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο. ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας οὖν ταύτης Δεξίων ἐκλήθη.

With this we should no doubt connect the statement in the *Vita*, ch. 17:

Ἰστρος δέ φησιν Ἀθηναίους διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ ψήφισμα πεποιθέναι κατ' ἔτος αὐτῷ θύειν.³

In other words, the heroized Sophocles was definitely worshipped in Athens as early as the fourth century,⁴ and his cult was in very close contact with that of Amynos. This led Körte to suggest that in place of Meineke's reading, "Αλκωνος, in the *Vita*, ch. 11, we read Ἀμύνον, for although none of the inscriptions are earlier than the fourth century, the shrine of Amynos itself is said, on archaeological grounds, to go back well into the sixth century.⁵ The new reading is palaeographically more difficult than that suggested by Meineke, but it is more consonant with the facts. In the first place, save for the emended reading in question, nothing is known of Alcon as a healing hero, nor of any cult at all in Athens. Rather his associations are chiefly with Euboea. But if we assume his existence at Athens in this capacity, we are then faced with the

¹ A. Körte, "Bezirk eines Heilgottes," *Mittheilungen des deutschen arch. Instituts, Athenische Abtheilung*, XVIII (1893), pp. 231-256; "Das Heiligtum des Amynos," *op. cit.*, XXI (1896), pp. 287-332.

² Cf. also Plut. *Numa*, 4, 6; *Moralia*, 1103 B.

³ *θύειν* seems here to be used loosely for *ἐναγίζειν*.

⁴ Körte, *op. cit.*, XXI (1896), no. 6, pp. 299-300; cf. no. 7, pp. 302-303.

⁵ *Id.*, XVIII (1893), p. 244.

ridiculous result that Dexion-Sophocles, the heroized priest of one physician-god, Alcon, is found worshipped together with another physician-god Amynos.¹ All these difficulties are resolved by reading 'Αμύνου.

The inscriptions just cited throw some additional light on the cult of Dexion. From them we learn that he had his own cult organization (cf. τὰ κοινά, the plural, in the phrase τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ὀργεῶνων τοῦ 'Αμύνου καὶ τοῦ 'Ασκληπιοῦ καὶ τοῦ Δεξιῶνος, no. 6, 3-4; no. 7, 5-7) and his own separate shrine (cf. ἐν ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ἱεροῖν, no. 6, 11; τὴν μὲν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Δεξιῶνος ἱερῷ τὴν δὲ [ἐ]ν τῷ το[ῦ] 'Αμύνου καὶ 'Ασκληπιοῦ, no. 6, 16-17).

Part of the account in the *Etymologicum Magnum* calls for discussion. What and when was the δεξιῶσις tendered to Asclepius by Sophocles? Happily, we have an inscription² which gives us some information on the date and circumstances of Asclepius's introduction to Athens. From this and Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.* 4, 18, the date can be fixed exactly as the eighteenth of Boedromion, 420 B.C.

However, in the next year, 419/8, as the inscription proceeds to state, the Ceryces, one of the groups of Eleusinian priests, created some legal trouble about land, presumably that set aside as a proposed site for the Athenian Asclepieion. So far as can be gathered, the quarrel was due to jealousy on the part of the Ceryces. Asclepius had been initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries immediately upon his arrival at Athens, and the priests no doubt wished him to settle down permanently in the Eleusinion, instead of in a temple of his own. At the outset they were partially successful, and the quarrel dragged on for several years, but since the final fragments of the inscription note the progress in the building, it is certain that Asclepius was finally triumphant and obtained his own separate temple. During the course of the litigation, however, he had no home, as he obviously could not remain in the Eleusinion. This seems to have been the occasion on which Sophocles, as priest of Amynos, took Asclepius into his own house and that

¹ *Id.*, XXI (1896), pp. 311-312.

² *I. G.* II, 1649. A later and more fully restored text is to be found in F. Kutsch, *Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen* (Giessen, 1913), no. 40, pp. 72-73.

of his god, Amynos.¹ Henceforth, the shrine was sacred to both Amynos and Asclepius, even after the Asclepieion was completed. It was probably at this same time that Sophocles dedicated the altar referred to in the *Etymologicum Magnum* and in the *Palatine Anthology*, 6, 145:

βωμὸν τοῦσδε θεοῖς Σοφοκλῆς ἰδρύσατο πρῶτος,
ὃς πλεῖστον Μούσης εἶδε (v. l. εἶλε) κλέος τραγικῆς,

and that he composed the paean² in honor of Asclepius.³

According to a brilliant idea of Foucart,⁴ Sophocles, almost immediately after his death and 'canonization,' was popularly credited, because of his *δεξιῶσις* of Asclepius while priest of Amynos, with having actually introduced the god into Athens. This belief then survived in some of the later traditions.⁵ It was, accordingly, to ensure to himself recognition for this act that Tele-

¹ Körte, *op. cit.*, XXI (1896), pp. 312-313.

² Cf. Philostr. *Vita Apoll.* 3, 17; Philostr. *Minor, Imag.* 13, 4. There is no good reason to doubt the authenticity of the copy of this paean from imperial times. The fragments have been assembled by A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Wien, 1909), no. 87, pp. 102-104. They are badly shattered, but we may note the words in fr. B, 2, *συρλεγμασι μινυ* . . . , with which cf. *κυνορτικὸν σύριγμα* in *Ichneutae*, 167.

³ As opposed to this whole view, L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford, 1921), p. 259, interprets the story simply as an epiphany of Asclepius to Sophocles, and seems to place this event before 420 B.C.

Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1903), pp. 346-347, considers the appearance of Asclepius in the shrine of Amynos as a sort of trial period for the god before a separate temple should be built for him. This opinion simply ignores the epigraphical evidence. Farnell's view is possible if we prefer not to assume that some historical incident lay back of the account in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, but Körte seems to me to have best evaluated the evidence and drawn from it the logical conclusions.

Wilamowitz, "Isyllos von Epidauros," *Philologische Untersuchungen*, ed. Kiessling and Wilamowitz, IX (1886), p. 83, decided that Asclepius first appeared at Athens about 460 B.C. The later evidence makes any such early date very unlikely.

⁴ P. Foucart, *Les Grands Mystères d'Éleusis, Personnel-Cérémonies* (Paris, 1900), pp. 117-118.

⁵ Cf. *πρῶτος* in *Pal. Anth.* 6, 145, quoted above; Marinus, *Vita Procli*, 29: τοῦ ἀπὸ Σοφοκλέους ἐπιφανοῦς Ἀσκληπιείου.

machus, the person really responsible, stressed the word *πρῶτος* in two inscriptions (*I. G. II*, 1650, 1-3: Τ]ηλέμαχος ἰδ[ρύσατο τὸ ἱερ]ὸν καὶ τὸν βω[μὸν τῷ Ἀσκλη]πιῷ πρῶ[τος . . .; *I. G. II*, 1442: Τηλέμαχ]ός σε ἱέρωσε Ἀσκληπιῷ ἡδὲ ὁμοβώμοις πρῶτος ἰδρυσάμενος θυσίαις θείαις ὑποθήκαις), and that he drew up the detailed inscription recording the arrival of Asclepius which we have already considered.¹

A further connection between Sophocles and healing deities can be established. The peculiar and unexplained appearance of the name Παιῶν in line 37 of the *Ichneutae* has already been noticed.² Usener points out that Paian is an older god than Apollo and that in Homer and Hesiod they are never confused, whereas later the name Paian or Paion becomes a mere epithet of Apollo and Asclepius. He adds:

Die combination des Apollon Paion ist zu Athen verhältnissmässig spät vollzogen worden; sie findet sich erst in einem jüngeren stück des Sophokles (Oed. kön. 154) [*italics mine*] und in einer urkunde aus der zeit des peloponnesischen krieges (*C. I. A. I*, 210, 24 p. 93b [= *I. G.*² I, 310, 228-229]); weder Solon noch Aischylos wissen von der identität des Apollon und Paion, wie denn auch demselben Pindar, der so volle worte für die heilkunst Apollons hat, Paian für sich steht.³

To be sure, in the 'Pythian' part of the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, for which Allen and Sikes⁴ set the *terminus ante quem* at 586 B.C., we already find the title Ἰηπαιήων, applied to Apollo (line 272), and a fifth-century inscription from Selinus (*I. G. XIV*, 269) has Ἀπό]λλωνος Παιᾶνος, but this does not really affect the truth of Usener's statement as regards Athens.

It may be noted also that according to Ellendt's⁵ findings, while Παιᾶν is applied by Sophocles to Apollo, the form Παιῶν, used in the *Ichneutae*, elsewhere in Sophocles (*Phil.* 168; 832) has no specific connection with Apollo. But this is probably of no real significance, for the two forms are in general used without any

¹ *Supra*, p. 172 and note 2.

² *Supra*, p. 170.

³ H. Usener, *Götternamen* (Bonn, 1896), pp. 153-154.

⁴ T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns* (London, 1904), p. 67.

⁵ F. Ellendt, *Lexicon Sophocleum*, second ed., revised by H. Genthe (Berolini, 1872).

distinction of meaning. What is significant is that in this play Sophocles chose to apply to Apollo a title which, in Athens, he was the first to use in this way, and which, on the surface at least, has no relation to the myth being treated. Save for the common epithet Φοῖβος, the only other name given Apollo in the play is Λοξίας (line 436). This title, as if derived from λοξός, is generally used in reference to the mantic aspect of Apollo, and of the five occurrences cited by Ellendt, four are in the *Oedipus Rex*, where this meaning is especially appropriate, but a comment by Jebb is worth quoting:

It is not etymologically possible to refer Λοξίας to λυκ, *lux*. But phonetic correspondence would justify the connection, suggested by Dr Fennell, with ἄ-λεξ (Skt. *rak-sh* [*sh* is the sound now generally transcribed *ṣ*]). Λοξίας and his sister Λοξώ (Callim. *Del.* 292), would then be other forms of Phoebus and Artemis ἀλεξητήριοι, ἀλεξιμοροι . . . 'defenders.'¹

If this be correct, the title may remind us of the hero Ἄμυνος, whose name is transparently derived from ἀμύνειν, 'to ward off,' 'defend.' Furthermore, in the lines from the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus (61-63):

αὐτῷ μελέσθω Λοξία μεγασθενεῖ.
ἱατρόμαντις δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τερασκόπος
καὶ τοῖσιν ἄλλοις δωμάτων καθάρσιος

and in those from the *Plutus* of Aristophanes (8-11):

τῷ δὲ Λοξία,
ὃς θεσπιωδεῖ τρίποδος ἐκ χρυσηλάτου . . .
ἱατρὸς ὦν καὶ μάντις, ὥς φασιν, σοφός

the expressions ἱατρόμαντις and ἱατρὸς ὦν καὶ μάντις may possibly indicate that even in antiquity the title Λοξίας suggested not only the mantic but also the healing aspects of Apollo, and that side

¹ R. C. Jebb, ed., *The Oedipus Tyrannus*, third ed. (Cambridge, 1893), note to line 853. The derivation of Λοξίας from λέγω, which would be equally apt for Apollo, should also be noted, but Professor J. Whatmough kindly informs me that he considers the connection with *rakṣ* more probable, despite the fact that Sanskrit *kṣ* usually corresponds to *κτ* in Greek.

by side with the popular derivation from $\lambda\omicron\zeta\acute{o}s$ was a recognition of the connection, now generally accepted, with the root $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\lambda\epsilon\zeta$.

Thus, in summary, we find Sophocles the lifelong¹ priest of Amynos, a healing hero, and intimately associated with Asclepius on the latter's appearance at Athens in 420 B.C. This association is so close that after the death of the poet, cult inscriptions connect him, as Dexion, with Asclepius and Amynos, and he is wrongly given credit for having brought Asclepius to Athens. He is the first to use Paion as an epithet of Apollo. In the *Ichneutae*, Apollo's titles are such as befit a god of healing, and there are striking verbal similarities with the Peiraeus ritual inscription of the cult of Asclepius. Hence, so far as Sophocles's interests and career are concerned, there is no reason to deny the possibility that in writing this play, he was to some extent influenced by the cult of Asclepius.²

III

Turning to consider the matter from the side of Asclepius, we can establish a certain connection both with dogs and hunting. Apollodorus,³ after recording the story of Apollo, Coronis, and Ischys, familiar from Pindar's third Pythian Ode, continues (3, 10, 3):

καιομένης δὲ αὐτῆς (i.e. Coronis) ἀρπάσας (i.e. Apollo) τὸ βρέφος (i.e. Asclepius) ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς πρὸς Χείρωνα τὸν Κένταυρον ἤνεγκε, παρ' ᾧ καὶ τὴν λατρικὴν καὶ τὴν κυνηγετικὴν τρεφόμενος ἐδιδάχθη.

Even more important, as being so nearly contemporary, is the statement of Xenophon, *Cyn.* 1, 1-2:

¹ So Körte, *Ath. Mitt.* XXI (1896), p. 313, n. 2.

² It must be admitted, however, that in only one of the extant plays (*Phil.* 1333; 1437-1438, produced in 410 B.C.) and, I believe, in only one of the fragments (*Phineus*, fr. 710, Pearson) is Asclepius mentioned. Still, his special concern with Asclepius need only have lasted for a relatively brief period.

³ While this is the traditional name for the author of the *Bibliotheca*, he is surely not the Athenian grammarian of the second century, B.C. Cf. the introduction of Sir J. G. Frazer's edition in the Loeb Classical Library.

τὸ μὲν εὖρημα θεῶν, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, ἄγραι καὶ κύνες· ἔδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἐτίμησαν τοῦτω Χείρωνα διὰ δικαιοσύνην. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἐχάρη τῷ δώρῳ καὶ ἐχρήτη· καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ μαθηταὶ κυνηγεσίων τε καὶ ἐτέρων καλῶν Κέφαλος, Ἀσκληπιός . . . Μαχάων, Ποδαλείριος, κτλ.

So far as I can discover, these are the only two places where Asclepius is said to have indulged in the art of hunting, but his close association with dogs is well established. In the long lists of cures preserved on inscriptions at Epidaurus, there are two (*I. G.*² IV, 121, XX and 122, XXVI) which were effected by dogs. The phraseology used, ὑπὸ κυνὸς τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν and κύων τῶν ἱερῶν, indicates that a number of dogs were maintained at the temple and that they occupied a position similar to that of the more frequently mentioned snakes. A temple inventory¹ from the Asclepieion at Lebena in Crete lists κύνια τόα-ε. Baunack equates τόα with the Attic ζῶα (*sic* — for Attic ζῶον, see Meisterhans-Schwyzler, p. 65), and takes the phrase to mean that five live dogs were kept there.² For the Asclepieion at the Peiraeus we have seen the evidence; the story in Aelian (*Nat. Anim.* 7, 13) of a thief caught by one of the temple dogs as he attempted to steal the ἀναθήματα from the shrine in Athens vouches for the custom there.

More important, however, is the fragmentary relief (Inv. 2491,

¹ T. Baunack, "Inscripfen aus dem kretischen Asclepieion," *Philologus*, XLIX (1890), pp. 587-588, B 2.

² *Id.*, pp. 591; 596. F. Blass, however, in his edition of the inscription in Collitz and Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inscripfen*, no. 5087, prints κυνιατοα ε without the accent, apparently indicating a *vox nihili*. Professor J. Whatmough tells me that if the true reading be τόα, with ο for ὀ (i.e. ω), the T of the stone may represent an original or intended Ι (ζ), of which the lower part was omitted by the engraver or has since become effaced; for there appears to be no other example of initial τ for ζ except Τῆνα, where Cretan itself, in inscriptions which have ο for ω, and ε for η, regularly shows ζ. In such a case the equation here with ζῶα is perfectly allowable.

This suggestion is perhaps substantiated by the fact that in the only other early publication of this inscription, *Museo italiano di Antichità classica*, III (1890), pp. 731-734, the editor, F. Halbherr, omits these words entirely, indicating a lacuna. Hence Baunack must have constituted his text from very slight vestiges of the letters left on the stone, and may easily have overlooked the possibility that the T was originally Ι.

Athenian National Museum) from the Asclepieion at Athens, which Svoronos¹ describes as follows:

Im Asklepieion ist desgleichen gefunden das Stück, das auf der einen Seite den Asklepios auf der Kline beim Symposion zeigt, auf der andern denselben Gott mit seinem aus Inschriften bekannten *κυνηγέτης* (Hundeführer) inmitten der heiligen Hunde seines Tempelsbezirks.

The relevant side of the relief showing the *κυνηγέτης* in the center, with a dog on his right, and the head of another on his left, is illustrated in Plate I;² according to Mr. Sterling Dow, the sculptural technique indicates a fourth-century date. The monument seems to show that the cult of the *κύνες* and the *κυνηγέται*, whether practised or not at Athens, was at least known there, and was not confined to the Peiraeus. In that case, it is likely that it formed part of the original cult of Asclepius in both places, and was not merely, as Farnell³ implies, the addition of an innovating priest of the Peiraeus temple.

Pausanias (2, 27, 2) states that the chryselephantine statue of Asclepius at Epidaurus portrayed him with both snake and dog, and the dog may be seen with him on a relief discovered there,⁴ on coins of Epidaurus from the period 323–240 B.C.,⁵ and on second-century coins from Magnetes in Thessaly.⁶

The cult relations of Asclepius with Apollo were very close, especially in the case of Apollo *Μαλεάτης*. Maleates appears separately on the Peiraeus inscription and may possibly have been in origin an individual entity,⁷ later linked with Apollo. Though

¹ J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, German ed. by W. Barth (Athen, 1908), p. 530.

² Plate CLXIII in Svoronos, *op. cit.*, gives a reconstruction of the entire relief, but Mr. Dow, after examining both stones, writes me that the fragment, Inv. 2490, while from a monument of similar design, is not part of the relief pictured here.

³ Cf. *infra*, p. 185.

⁴ J. Ziehen, "Studien zu den Asklepiosreliefs," *Ath. Mitt.* XVII (1892), p. 244, fig. 8.

⁵ *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum*, X (ed. P. Gardner), p. 156, no. 7 and Plate XXIX, 14; p. 158, no. 25 and Plate XXIX, 19.

⁶ B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, second ed. (Oxford, 1911), p. 300.

⁷ For discussion cf. Wilamowitz, *Isyllos*, p. 100; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford, 1896–1909), IV, pp. 235–238.



Apollo shared with Asclepius the main temple¹ at Epidaurus, he had, as Apollo Maleatas, his own shrine there on Mount Cynortion (Paus. 2, 27, 7); the name of the place recalls to mind the new word *κυνορτικόν* in the *Ichneutae*, line 167. An Epidaurian inscription (*I. G.*² IV, 109) records building operations, τὰ ἐπὶ (τοῦ) Κυνὸς σκανάματα; the editor remarks (*ad loc.* I, line 128) that Cynortion was the name of the whole hill, Κύων the name of one of the lower spurs. Isyllus of Epidaurus is the authority for the same connection of Asclepius and Apollo Maleatas at Tricca, in Thesaly (*I. G.*² IV, 128, 29-31):

οὐδέ κε Θεσσαλίας ἐν Τρίκκῃ πειραθείης
εἰς ἄδυτον καταβὰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἄφ' ἄγνου
πρῶτον Ἀπόλλωνος βωμοῦ θύσαις Μαλεάτα.

Sixth-century dedications to Maleatas have been found in Cynuria (note the name) near Sparta.²

On the other hand, the Peiraeus inscription is the only instance of a cult relationship between Hermes and Asclepius. At Epidaurus the only two dedications to Hermes (*I. G.*² IV, 514 and 515) are from well on in the Christian era. Even in myth the two gods are seldom directly connected, though in his version of the Coronis story, Pausanias (2, 26, 6) says that it was Hermes who snatched the unborn Asclepius from the pyre, while both Pindar and Apollodorus attribute the deed to Apollo, the babe's father. Hermes was, however, in some degree a god of healing,³ probably as an extension of his more important functions as god of male fertility. Two inscriptions⁴ from Olbia record dedications by the ἀγορανόμοι to Hermes Ἀγοραῖος, ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἐαυτῶν ὑγείας, and he is mentioned together with Hygieia by Cornutus (*De Nat. Deor.*

¹ Cf. A. D. Nock, *Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil.* XLI (1930), pp. 44-47, for a treatment of the whole subject of temple sharing in Greece.

² K. D. Mylonas, "NEA ΠΡΟΣΚΤΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΟΤ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΒΑΡΒΑΚΕΙΩ ΜΟΤΣΕΙΟΥ," *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, I (1877), pp. 355-356.

³ The chief cases of this are listed in W. A. Jayne, *The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations* (New Haven, 1925), pp. 331-332.

⁴ *Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*, ed. B. Latyshev (Petropoli, 1885-1901), I, nos. 75 and 76.

16). It is probably also as a god of fertility that he is patron of animals, domestic animals in particular; the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* (line 570) specifically mentions dogs as subject to his power. One of his epithets is *Κυνάγχης*, occurring in the fragment of Hipponax (fr. 4, Diehl): 'Ερμῇ κυνάγχᾳ, Μηονιστὶ Κανδαῦλα, φωρῶν ἐταῖρε. This function seems to be rather opposed to the last-named, for here as the patron of thieves he is the 'Dog-strangler,' but similar cases could be adduced in which the deities slay the beasts of which they are at other times the protectors. A funerary inscription¹ from Tricca shows that Hermes *Χθόνιος* was worshipped there. Tricca was probably the original home of Asclepius,² and Asclepius was likewise a chthonic deity, but the mere appearance there of Hermes Chthonius is not in itself sufficient to prove any vital connection. We are faced then with the following situation: Apollo and Hermes are closely allied in cult³ and myth, as are Apollo and Asclepius, but the third side of our triangle, the relationship between Asclepius and Hermes, is at best no more than a faintly drawn, dotted line.

As an attempt to bridge this gap, I should like to hazard a suggestion for which I can find very little basis. Apollodorus, after telling of the career of Asclepius, and how he was slain by Zeus for having raised Hippolytus from the dead, relates that Apollo, in grief and anger, proceeded to kill the Cyclopes who had manufactured the fatal thunderbolt used by Zeus. Then (3, 10, 4):

Ζεὺς δὲ ἐμέλλησε ρίπτειν αὐτὸν (i.e. Apollo) εἰς Τάρταρον, δεηθείσης δὲ Λητοῦς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνδρὶ θητεῦσαι. ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Φερὰς πρὸς Ἀδμητον τὸν Φέρητος τούτῳ λατρεύων ἐποίμαινε, καὶ τὰς θηλείας βόας πάσας διδυμοτόκους ἐποίησεν.

Now Antoninus Liberalis, in his account of Hermes's theft of Apollo's cattle, speaks as follows (ch. 23):

ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα ἰδόντα ἔρως ἔλαβε τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐξελίμπανε τὰ οἰκία τοῦ Μάγνητος, Ἑρμῆς ἐπιβουλεύει τῇ ἀγέλῃ τῶν βοῶν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. αἱ δὲ ἐνέμοντο ἵναπερ ἦσαν αἱ Ἀδμήτου βόες.

¹ *Epigrammata Graeca ex Lapidibus conlecta*, ed. G. Kaibel (Berolini, 1878), no. 505.

² Farnell, *Hero Cults*, p. 247.

³ There are many references in Pausanias for this, e.g., 4, 33, 4; 5, 14, 8; 8, 32, 2.

If it be possible to link up these accounts, we then have the sequence of the Asclepius story, Apollo's servitude as a cowherd under Admetus, and Hermes's youthful exploit as a cattle thief. In this case, the story of the *Ichneutae* is brought into quite definite association with Asclepius, and no immediate connection of cult is essential. Sophocles was after all writing dramatic poetry, and his treatment of the story is an instance of πλάσμα,¹ as that term was used by the Alexandrian literary critics; he here applied to the myths a set of deductions drawn from his observation of Greek cult. His own preoccupation with Amynos and Asclepius might well have impressed him so strongly with the various cult associations of Asclepius, Apollo, Hermes, and dogs that several separate myths concerning them should have fused together in his mind into a unity. If we can assume such a unity of these myths in his imagination, it will account sufficiently for the peculiar feature we have noted in his treatment of the subject.

There are, however, several difficulties in the way of affirming that the sequence is as desired, even apart from the fact that, to the best of my knowledge, the stories are nowhere so definitely related one to another. According to the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, the cattle were stolen from their pasture land in Pieria, a considerable distance north of Pherae, the Thessalian home of Admetus. Antoninus Liberalis is discreetly indefinite about the place. But Apollodorus is equally indefinite about the ownership of the cattle; from his statement (3, 10, 2), κλέπτει βόας ἃς ἔνεμεν Ἀπόλλων, the cattle might even be those of Admetus, while, as Allen and Sikes point out,² the Homeric *Hymn* refers to the cattle quite indifferently as the property either of Apollo or of the gods. From the remains of the *Ichneutae* it is not possible to determine precisely either the ownership of the cattle (though *presumably* they are Apollo's) or the place from which they were stolen. In any case, it would not be necessary to ascribe them to Admetus. If with Antoninus Liberalis we assume that they were the possessions of Apollo, but were being tended (or neglected) by him along with

¹ On πλάσμα cf. K. Kerényi, *Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur* (Tübingen, 1927), pp. 2-9.

² Allen and Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, p. 145, note to line 71.

those of Admetus, this might be sufficient to arouse a more or less conscious train of thought leading back to Asclepius. Without further evidence that the stories were ever put in such a sequence (the fact that Apollodorus puts the theft before the Admetus story proves nothing to the contrary, as his account is arranged by topics), it would perhaps be rash to assert that Sophocles did so think of them, but it is certainly not inconceivable.

IV

We have yet to consider the Peiraeus inscription. It is generally agreed that it is to be dated in the first decade of the fourth century. The date of the establishment of the Asclepieion there is not quite certain, but it was after 422 B.C., since in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes (122-123) Bdelycleon had to take his father to the Asclepieion at Aegina, apparently the nearest one available. But since, according to a reasonable emendation of *I. G. II*, 1649, 2, Asclepius was brought to Athens from Epidaurus by way of the small harbor at Zea, rather than by the main harbor of the Peiraeus, and since Zea was also the site of the Peiraeus Asclepieion, it has been inferred¹ that the reason for landing at Zea was that both temples, that in Athens and that in the Peiraeus, might be established at the same time. Hence, while there is no documentary evidence that the *Kύνες* and the *Κυνηγέται* received sacrifice before 400 B.C., there is no reason to assert that they were not part of the cult as it was established in 420/19 B.C.²

As to the identity of the *Kύνες* and the *Κυνηγέται* there has been much discussion, a great deal of it rather futile. The only other place where they are mentioned together in quite this way is in a fragment of the *Phaon* of Plato Comicus, found in Athenaeus, 10, 441-442. There Aphrodite (?) says:³

εἰ γὰρ Φάωνα δεῖσθ' ἰδεῖν, προτέλεια δεῖ
ὕμᾱς ποιῆσαι πολλὰ πρότερον τοιαδί·

¹ Kutsch, *Attische Heilgötter*, pp. 16-17; 36.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 178.

³ I follow the text of C. B. Gulick, *Athenaeus, The Deipnosophists* (London and New York, 1927-1933).

πρῶτα μὲν ἐμοὶ γὰρ κουροτρόφῳ προθύεται
 πλακοῦς ἐνόρχης, ἄμυλος ἐγκύμων, κίχλαι
 ἐκκαίδεχ' ὀλόκληροι μέλιτι διαμεμιγμέναι,
 λαγῶα δῶδεκ' ἐπισέληνα. τᾶλλα δὲ
 ἤδη τὰδ' εὐτελέστατ' ἐστ'. ἄκουε δὴ.
 βολβῶν μὲν Ὀρθάννη τρί' ἡμικτέα,
 Κονισάλῳ δὲ καὶ παραστάταιν δυοῖν
 μύρτων πινακίσκος χειρὶ παρατετιλμένων·
 λύχνων γὰρ ὅσμᾶς οὐ φιλοῦσι δαίμονες.
 περκνή γιγαρτὶς κυσί τε καὶ κυνηγέταις . . .

Kaibel,¹ comparing the two passages, concluded:

in den gleichen Personenkreis mit den übrigen priapeischen Göttern gehören die Hunde und die Jäger offenbar. Und wenn nun κύων das ἀνδρεῖον μόριον ist (Hesych), so lässt sich errathen, wer die κυνηγέται sind.

Professor Gulick apparently accepts this view,² for he says: "the 'hunters' are the παραστάται mentioned above," and these, on the basis of Athenaeus, 9, 395 f., he defines as the ὄρχεις. But this seems unsatisfactory if it be applied to the cult inscription. Ziehen sums up the objections neatly:³

Etenim duobus locis Κύνες et Κυνηγέται coniuncti occurrunt, altero inter daemones priapeos, altero inter Aesculapii ὁμονόους; quo iure illinc natura obscoena eorum colligitur, eodem fere hinc medicos quosdam daemones fuisse quispiam collegerit, nimirum ne id quidem recte, quamquam tuo iure *legi sacrae* plus tribueris quam versibus *poetae comici*, qui facile religionem popularium praesertim daemonum in ridiculam et obscoenam partem vertere potuerit.

However, I cannot agree with Ziehen's own conception,⁴ derived from such passages as Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 924-925,

ΚΛ. ὄρα, φύλαξαι μητρὸς ἐγκότους κύνας.

ΟΡ. τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς δὲ πῶς φύγω, παρεῖς τάδε;

¹ G. Kaibel, "ΔΑΚΤΥΛΟΙ ΙΔΑΙΟΙ," *Nachrichten von der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse* (1901), p. 506.

² Gulick, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 502-503.

³ J. de Prott — L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum sacrae e Titulis collectae* (Lipsiae, 1896-1906), II, p. 73.

⁴ *Id.*, pp. 73-74.

that the *Κύνες* are here the Erinyes and the *Κυνηγέται* the spirits of the dead, even though it is true that dogs often have a chthonic significance, as in connection with Hecate. Nor is Dittenberger successful in his attempt¹ to avoid connecting the words *κατὰ τὰδε προθύεσθαι* with *Κυσὶν πόπανα τρία*; he thinks the meaning is rather that cakes should be given the temple dogs to eat, without any notion of sacrifice. It is true, I believe, that real, living dogs are meant, not Erinyes, and that they may actually have eaten the cakes. But just as in the mime of Herodas (4, 90-91), the women sacrifice to the sacred snake:

ἔς τε τὴν τρώγλην
τὸν πέλανον² ἔνθες τοῦ δράκοντος εὐφήμως,

so here we are plainly told that *sacrifice* is to be made to the dogs.³ Dittenberger's would-be construction is impossible Greek, especially when the offering to the dogs is sandwiched in between those to the other deities and those to the 'hunters.' A comment of Xenophon (*Mem.* 1, 1, 14) on the religious situation of his time is of interest here, and might even be aimed, in part, at this case:

καὶ τοὺς μὲν οὐθ' ἱερὸν οὔτε βωμὸν οὔτ' ἄλλο τῶν θείων οὐδὲν τιμᾶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ λίθους καὶ ξύλα τὰ τυχόντα καὶ θηρία σέβεσθαι.

The position taken by Farnell is, it seems to me, essentially correct:⁴

We know of no daimoniatic beings who could possibly be called 'dogs' in this connexion; we must therefore interpret the words as referring to real sacred dogs such as we know were kept at the temple of Epidauros. . . . Who then are the *κυνηγέται*? These could not conceivably be the human and mortal keepers of the dogs; for at no period of Greek paganism could the human guardians or officials of a temple receive a *θυσία* or a *προθυσία*. The 'dog-guardians' must therefore be imagined as unseen heroic beings, let us say, such as Machaon and Podaleirios.

¹ Dittenberger, *Syll.*², notes to no. 631. In his third edition (no. 1040), Dittenberger omits this part of his commentary completely.

² *πέλανος*, like *πόπανον*, is a type of sacrificial offering.

³ M. W. de Visser, *Die nichtmenschengestaltigen Götter der Griechen* (Leiden, 1903), pp. 157-164, cites a number of cases in which sacrifices were made to animals.

⁴ Farnell, *Hero Cults*, p. 261.

We may recall that among the *μαθηταὶ κυνηγεσίων* in Xenophon, *Cyn.* 1, both Machaon and Podalirius, as well as their father, were listed, so the idea of 'huntsmen' rather than that of 'dog-guardian' may be uppermost in the word *κυνηγέταις*, as here used.

Farnell has also treated the *Phaon* passage.¹ It is his opinion that the ritual proclamation ordering sacrifices to dogs startled and shocked "the more educated Athenians and provoked the saving sense of humor." Thus the *Phaon*, written about 390 B.C., and containing, as Farnell explains it, this parody of Attic ritual, spoken by the slightly tipsy Aphrodite, includes *inter alia* a reference to the Peiraeus cult. It is a witty and thoroughly convincing thesis, and provides the comic point, heretofore completely missed, in such ludicrously mixed expressions as the 'uncastrated cheese-cake' and the 'thrushes well mixed with honey.'² Incidentally, it deprives the *κυσὶ τε καὶ κυνηγέταις* of any such significance as Kaibel and others have tried to read into the phrase.

The idea, however, involves several rather disquieting considerations. Farnell implies that the present inscription was the *first* to ordain these peculiar sacrifices; that is, the cult of the *Kúves* and presumably therefore of the *Κυνηγέται* appeared in Attica not before 400 B.C. — six years after the death of Sophocles. Is this conclusion necessary and inevitable? The idea is of a piece with his remarks elsewhere,³ attacking the reliable witness of this inscription as adduced by those⁴ who maintain it is proof of the original individuality of Maleates. He says:

The Athenians had evidently learned the dogma of the cult, whatever it was, from Epidauros, and at Epidauros there is no sign of the distinctness of Maleatas. . . . It is less far-fetched to suppose that the Eleusinian priest, who, as he himself boasts, 'was the first to conjecture the ritual of the preliminary sacrifice,' 'conjectured' also that *Μαλεάτης* was a different personage from Apollo.

¹ L. R. Farnell, "Plato Comicus: Frag. *Phaon* II: A Parody of Attic Ritual," *Classical Quarterly*, XIV (1920), pp. 139-146; cf. *Hero Cults*, pp. 262-263.

² The sacrifice of a *σέρφον ἐνόρχην* prescribed in Aristophanes, *Birds*, 569, is not dissimilar, though it is without the confusion of terms appropriate to cereal and animal sacrifices which makes the *Phaon* passage so absurdly humorous.

³ Farnell, *Cults*, IV, pp. 236-237.

⁴ E.g., L. Ziehen, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.

Farnell's testimony is weighty, but not of necessity infallible. In the first place, while by etymology ἐξεικάζω may indeed mean 'conjecture,' it may equally well mean 'portray,' 'make a likeness of.'¹ This is evidently the sense in which it was taken by Dittenberger, who commented on it: "in inferiore tabulae parte, quae periit, imagines placentarum expressae fuisse videntur." Furthermore, it is by no means a matter of universal agreement that the entire cult *was* taken over from Epidaurus. In the inscription describing the introduction of the cult, we are told that ἄμα ἦλθεν Ὑ[γίεια] (*I. G.* II, 1649, a 9-10). Hygieia is not found at Epidaurus before the fourth century, and Körte² declared that she came to Athens from elsewhere, possibly Titane. Kutsch³ agrees that she did not come from Epidaurus, and makes the additional point that she was not initiated with Asclepius into the Eleusinian rites, nor received into the Asclepieion at Peiraeus. Usener⁴ says: "In Epidauros war Hygieia ursprünglich nicht heimisch, vielleicht ist sie dort erst durch die rückwirkung des athenischen cultus zu ansehn gelangt," and, finally, Farnell⁵ himself admits that she is a non-Epidaurian figure.

It appears, then, that Farnell was not altogether justified in his contention that the cult was a direct and faithful copy of that in Epidaurus, even at the outset. Indeed, the expression οἰκοθεν [μεταπεμ]ψάμενος in the Athenian inscription (a, 5-6), while of slightly uncertain interpretation, may well indicate an attempt on the part of Telemachus and his associates to procure the cult in its original and 'purest' form. Epidaurus was *not* the original home of the cult,⁶ and this fact was probably known and recognized in the Greek world, if not admitted by loyal Epidaurians. Granted,

¹ Indeed, the new Liddell and Scott does not cite the meaning 'conjecture' for ἐξεικάζω, though as used here with πρῶτος, that meaning might seem slightly more pointed than 'portray.' Could it be that to the various divinities, πόπανα of different shapes were to be offered? But even if Euthydemus were the first to define the exact nature of the πρῶθυμα, the several minor deities may still have been part of the original cult.

² Körte, *Ath. Mitt.* XVIII (1893), pp. 249-250; cf. Paus. 2, 11, 6; 7, 23, 8.

³ Kutsch, *Attische Heilgötter*, pp. 20-21.

⁴ Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 167.

⁵ Farnell, *Hero Cults*, p. 260.

⁶ *Supra*, p. 180 and note 2.

then, that some non-Epidaurian influence was felt from the very beginning, the fact that there are unusual features in the Peiraeus inscription need not deter us from accepting it as a substantially accurate representation of the cult ritual at the time of its first introduction in 420/19. It is true that the ridicule in the *Phaon* is more effective if aimed at some recent innovation, but the point of the jest is not materially affected one way or another. Certainly Plato does not belabor the matter, and the evidence, such as it is, points to the earlier date.

V

One final problem remains, the date of the *Ichneutae*. With this I shall be very brief, as it is a matter on which I feel quite incompetent to judge. Wilamowitz¹ early delivered himself of a dogmatic pronouncement which few have ventured to controvert. It is, he said, an early play, to be dated with the *Ajax* and before the *Antigone*, consequently prior to 440 B.C. One of his reasons, that there are no lines divided between speakers, is patently mistaken: witness line 199. Another, that only two actors are required, is at least open to discussion. For we possess but half of the play, and in what we have, an additional actor would be quite unwelcome and unnecessary, from the very nature of the plot. The crucial point is the appearance on the stage of Hermes. Have both Silenus and Cyllene departed, leaving Apollo and Hermes alone? The text is lost, and neither Wilamowitz nor anyone else can appeal to it to settle the question, but fairness does demand that the question be put. Münscher² and Robert,³ following the lead of Wilamowitz, also date it early, Münscher between 468 and 458 B.C., and Robert claiming it as the earliest extant work from Sophocles's pen. Bethe,⁴ for the reasons I have outlined and others, contradicts Wilamowitz, and places the *Ichneutae* late in Sophocles's work, possibly, he suggests, in the twenties. What a thorough

¹ Wilamowitz, *N. J. kl. Alt.* XXIX (1912), p. 461.

² K. Münscher, "Zu Sophokles *Ichneutai*," *Rh. Mus.* LXIX (1914), p. 190.

³ C. Robert, "Aphoristische Bemerkungen zu Sophokles' 'IXNETAI,'" *Hermes*, XLVII (1912), pp. 560-561.

⁴ Bethe, *Leip. S. B.* LXXI (1919), pp. 23-29.

metrical test would reveal I do not know. As no two Greek metrists ever seem to agree, it is not, perhaps, of the greatest moment; besides, there is very little satyric drama available, and with this alone could comparisons of metre justly be made.

One point I should like to suggest, and it is no more than a suggestion: to me, line 73, the prayer of Silenus,

θεοὶ Τύχη [κ]αὶ δαῖμον ἰθύντηριε,

seems rather more a foretaste of later concepts than an expression of those of the middle of the century. In any case, if Bethe be right, the play may just as well be placed after the Peace of Nicias as before, and a date as soon as possible after the importation of Asclepius, in the period when Sophocles was presumably busied with his cult, is desirable.

VI

To summarize briefly, we are faced at the outset with a noticeable emphasis in the play on dogs and hunting terms, which brings to mind the 'Dogs' and 'Huntsmen' of our inscription; in this inscription are also ordained sacrifices to Hermes and Apollo, the two leading figures in the *Ichneutae*. Apollo in the play is once styled Paion, an epithet of which the applicability in the context is not at all evident; but Paion is also an epithet of Asclepius, to whose cult the ritual inscription pertains. Sophocles himself is found to be closely concerned with the cult of a minor healing divinity, and is a leading figure in the reception of Asclepius into Athens; here the literary tradition is substantially corroborated by inscriptional evidence.

While Asclepius does not appear in the play, or, directly, in the myth of the *Ichneutae*, dogs are prominent in his cult and he is at least twice associated by ancient authors with hunting. Furthermore Asclepius and Apollo are closely allied in myth and cult, though Asclepius's relations to Hermes, even in myth, are few. However, it is possible to arrange the two myths, that of Apollo's murder of the Cyclopes to avenge the death of Asclepius, and of his subsequent servitude as cowherd under Admetus, and that of the

theft by Hermes of the cattle of Apollo, so that they form one continuous story, not without unity. I should like to feel that Sophocles's interest in the cult of Asclepius led him to consider these stories in such a relationship, with the result that in his treatment of the second myth he was, perhaps but half-consciously, influenced by what he knew of the story and cult of the god of healing. If so, this may explain the strange *Παιών* in line 37, and the emphasis on dogs and hunting, which, while not in itself unusual, becomes so when put side by side with the unexpected *Κύνες* and *Κυνηγέται* of the inscription.

Finally, the inscription, although probably not earlier than 400 B.C., may well represent the cult as established in 420 B.C. And while this date, as a *terminus post quem* for the play, is later than most critics will allow, it is certainly not inconceivable, especially in view of our very slight knowledge of satyric drama.

It would be unwise, on the basis of the evidence presented, to consider as proved any connection between the *Ichneutae* and the ritual inscription. In the last analysis, the reading of such allusions into a literary work is an attempt to probe the mind of the author, and to discover the thoughts, conscious and subconscious, which influenced him in his creative efforts. At all times difficult, this is doubly so in the case of one separated from us by twenty-three centuries. In Sophocles the Athenian ideal of a fully-rounded life was achieved to an amazing degree. With interests so manifold as his were, a thousand and one influences of which we know nothing may have played upon him. We can deal only with the material we possess, but the striking similarities, noted at the outset, exist and call for explanation. I have tried to show that from all angles the possibility of some contact is present, and that this, if granted, may account for certain unusual features of the play. Whether the sum of the possibilities amounts to a probability I dare not venture to say.

PERSEUS AND DEMETRIUS

By CHARLES FARWELL EDSON, JR.

THE quarrel between Perseus and Demetrius, the sons of Philip V, which led to the execution of Demetrius, is the most sombre incident in the last dark years of the Antigonid monarchy. No single event has so discredited the last two Macedonian kings; for the assassination of Demetrius is the only instance of dynastic murder in the entire history of the Antigonids. An investigation of the circumstances which caused Demetrius's death is of some significance for the history of the later Macedonian monarchy, and indeed is not without importance for the history of the relations between the Roman Republic and the Hellenic East in the second century.¹

Though Perseus and Demetrius were both sons of Philip V, they were not sons of the same mother. Perseus's mother was Polycrateia of Argos, while Demetrius's is unknown.² Perseus, the elder of the two princes, was born about 213 B.C., and Demetrius was five years his junior.³ After Cynoscephalae Demetrius was sent by Philip to Rome as a hostage;⁴ he was released and sent back to Macedonia in 191 in return for the aid given by his father to Rome during the campaigns against Antiochus in Greece.⁵ Demetrius had thus spent the most

¹ The only other modern studies of the quarrel between Perseus and Demetrius known to me are those of Heiland (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Königs Perseus von Makedonien*, Dissertation, Jena, 1913, pp. 10-12), De Sanctis (*Storia dei Romani*, IV¹, pp. 251-254), and Walek (*Dzieje Upadku Monarchiji Macedońskiej*, Cracow [1924]). I have not been able to use Walek's treatment, which apparently occupies pp. 185-194. However, from the French summary which he appends (p. 336), it appears that his conclusions are similar to those reached in this study, at least as concerns the rôle of Philip. The briefer treatments of Heiland and De Sanctis do, I believe, agree well with my own construction.

The essay of R. S. Conway ("A Graeco-Roman Tragedy," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, X [1926], pp. 309-329) is of no value.

² Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, IV², pp. 139-141.

³ Livy, 40, 6, 4; Beloch, *l.c.*

⁴ Polyb. 18, 39, 5; Livy, 33, 13, 14; Plut. *Flamininus*, 9.

⁵ Polyb. 21, 2, 3; Livy, 36, 35, 13; Appian, *Macedonica*, 9, 5; *Syriaca*, 20.

formative years of his life at Rome, years in which a Macedonian prince was ordinarily instructed in his administrative and military duties. Demetrius had left Macedonia as a boy and returned almost a man. Our sources give no indication that there was bad feeling of any kind between Perseus and Demetrius after the latter's return.

After the battle of Magnesia the relations between the Republic and Macedon became more and more strained¹ and the crisis brought on by the massacre at Maroneia in 184 made war seem imminent. Philip therefore decided to send Demetrius to Rome, "partly to defend him against the charges made against him, and partly also to ask pardon for any mistakes which he might have made."² Apelles and Philocles, the two chief Friends of the king, accompanied the young prince.³ The situation at Rome in 184 was fraught with great difficulty for the Macedonian embassy. There were present ambassadors from Eumenes bringing accusations against Philip in regard to the Thracian cities;⁴ from Thessaly ambassadors from the nation as a whole and from each city individually; and the Perrhaebians, Athamanians, Epirotes, and Illyrians were likewise represented. The entrance alone of these embassies required three days.⁵ Since the Senate could not decide all these questions, and since it took into consideration Demetrius's comparative immaturity, and moreover since it did not wish so much to hear Demetrius as to learn the real attitude of his father, Demetrius was asked if he had any memorandum from Philip. When Demetrius said that he had, the Senate asked him to read the memorandum, and he did so. In reply the Senate gave him a very cordial reception and then added that "the Senate fully believed that on all the matters mentioned by Demetrius, or read by him, full justice had been or would be done. But that Philip might know that the Senate granted this favour to Demetrius, ambassadors would be dispatched to see if everything were being done according to the will

¹ Cf. Benecke, *C. A. H.* VIII, pp. 245-251.

² Polyb. 22, 14, 9.

³ Polyb. 23, 1, 5.

⁴ It is interesting that this is the only indication given by our sources that the massacre at Maroneia was among the subjects discussed at Rome, and this indication seems rather to refer to Eumenes's right of possession than to the massacre itself.

⁵ Polyb. 23, 1; Livy, 39, 46.

of the Senate and at the same time to inform the king that *he owed this favor to his son Demetrius.*"¹

The tone and import of this answer are unmistakable. The Senate refused to consider any of Philip's statements on their merits, but instead informed the king that the little consideration which he did receive was entirely due to the personal influence and favour of his son. Polybius² expressly states that the Senate made it only too clear that such small success as the Macedonian embassy enjoyed was due entirely to Demetrius and not to any consideration for his father. The natural result of this was to give Demetrius an exalted sense of his own importance and, further, thoroughly to offend Philip and Perseus. But the information which Polybius³ gives us concerning the relations of Titus Flamininus with Demetrius is of the very greatest importance: "For Titus by taking the young man aside and inducing him to reveal his secrets contributed not a little to the same outcome (*i.e.*, the destruction of the Macedonian monarchy), *for he persuaded Demetrius that the Romans would shortly invest him with the kingdom*; and he angered Philip by writing that Philip should send Demetrius again to Rome with as many friends as possible and those of the most serviceable character."⁴ There cannot be the slightest doubt that Flamininus in making such a suggestion to Demetrius was guilty of an absolutely unwarranted interference in the private dynastic affairs of an independent and technically friendly state. This suggestion was obviously an attempt to build up a Roman party in Macedonia, centering around the person of Philip's second son. Furthermore it is unthinkable that Flamininus could have taken such a step on his own personal initiative; it is clear that his policy was that of at least a portion of the

¹ Polyb. 23, 2.

² 23, 3, 4-6.

³ 23, 3, 7-8.

⁴ Benecke (*C. A. H.* VIII, p. 252) refuses to accept these statements of Polybius, apparently because they seem to him to be inconsistent with the character of a Roman senator and the methods of Roman policy. But we cannot reject the explicit evidence of Polybius merely on the basis of an *a priori* assumption as to Roman character, and the methods of Roman policy can only be determined by a study of concrete political acts. It is interesting and significant that Livy (39, 47), whose narrative here is only a paraphrase of Polybius, omits all mention of this highly important incident. Cf. De Sanctis, *op. cit.*, IV; p. 253, n. 27.

Senate itself. As for Demetrius, we have Polybius's express statement that he was favorably impressed by Flaminius's suggestion, and there is no evidence whatsoever that he discouraged the idea of Roman intervention in Macedonia to place himself on the throne. Such an attitude is perilously near to treason.

It is important to note that up to this point we have no evidence of any activity on the part of Perseus against Demetrius. But after the return of the latter to Macedonia and his favorable reception by the people, who believed, naturally enough, that he had prevented a war with Rome, Philip and Perseus began to be perturbed.¹ It must be kept clearly in mind, however, that Philip and Perseus were in possession of two pieces of information, of which one at least was unknown to most Macedonians: first, the Senate's brusque message to Philip informing him that such slight consideration as he did receive was entirely due to Demetrius, and, *second*, the letter of Flaminius ordering Philip to send Demetrius again to Rome with as many nobles as possible. Polybius² expressly tells us that this letter angered Philip greatly. Though Philip dissembled his anger, Perseus did not, since he was beginning to fear that he, although the oldest son, might not succeed to the throne.³ Polybius says that it was at this time that Perseus began to corrupt some of Demetrius's friends, but later he⁴ makes it quite clear that such activity was not confined to Perseus, but that *both* princes were plotting against one another, Demetrius against Perseus as well as Perseus against Demetrius.⁵

We may question the entire accuracy of Livy's statement⁶ that the Macedonians wished Demetrius to become king after Philip's death, but there can be little doubt that the attitude and actions of Demetrius and his circle caused Philip and Perseus much apprehension. For

¹ Polyb. 23, 7, 1-7; Livy, 39, 53, 2-8.

² 23, 3, 8.

³ Polyb. 23, 7, 5-7.

⁴ 23, 10, 12-15.

⁵ Livy, 40, 54, 6, states that Antigonus, the son of Echecrates, was the only one of Philip's Friends whom Perseus did not corrupt. But it is quite impossible to believe either that the entire Macedonian aristocracy was accessible to bribes, or that Perseus could have had the financial resources for bribery on such a huge scale.

⁶ 39, 53, 2-5.

a large number of Macedonians constantly attended Demetrius, and when the Roman ambassadors arrived to force Philip to evacuate the Thracian cities, Demetrius associated with them more than with his father; indeed it would not have been at all strange if Philip had wondered if he were to have any voice in determining which of his sons was to succeed him.¹

According to Livy² Perseus attempted to injure Demetrius in Philip's eyes by constantly speaking disparagingly of the Romans, on which occasions Demetrius warmly defended them. Be that as it may, the real crisis between the two princes arose on the day of the sacrifice to the hero Xanthus and the accompanying lustration of the army.³ Part of the ceremonies consisted of a sham battle. Each side was commanded by one of the princes, and the resulting combat "needed only steel to be a true battle."⁴ Perseus's party was compelled to withdraw. That night each of the princes held a banquet. Perseus was invited to supper by Demetrius, but, after the events of the day, he refused. Nothing more clearly shows the feeling which existed between the two princes than the fact that the houses of both were filled with spies.⁵ A spy was sent by Perseus to Demetrius's house to learn what was being said about him. The spy was discovered by some of Demetrius's friends, and was ejected after having been severely beaten. Demetrius, who was ignorant of this episode and rather under the influence of wine as well, suggested that he and his friends visit Perseus. All agreed except four who knew that the spy had been discovered, but these upon being pressed consented to go and secreted swords upon their persons. Meanwhile another spy of Perseus's party, who had been present at Demetrius's banquet, ran ahead and informed Perseus that four armed men were coming with Demetrius. When Perseus heard this, he blockaded his door and from an upper window of the house ordered Demetrius to leave. Demetrius, who was drunk, after he had protested for a time, finally withdrew.⁶ The next morning Perseus accused Demetrius to his father of attempting to take his life.⁷

¹ Livy, 39, 53, 5-12.

² 40, 5.

³ Polyb. 23, 10, 17; Livy, 40, 6.

⁴ Livy, 40, 6, 6.

⁵ Livy, 40, 7, 7: *utraque domus speculatorum et proditorum plena erat.*

⁶ Livy, 40, 7.

⁷ Livy, 40, 8, 1-3.

Philip was horrified and decided to have the affair investigated at once. He immediately ordered Demetrius to be sent for, and also summoned Lysimachus and Onomastus, old friends of his who had not taken sides in the quarrel. When Philip heard that his sons were present, he retired into an inner room of the palace with Lysimachus and Onomastus and two members of his bodyguard. Demetrius and Perseus then entered with three unarmed companions each. The number of persons in the apartment was thirteen.¹

We now reach an interesting problem. There were but thirteen persons in the room, two of whom at least died shortly afterwards, and it is highly improbable that many of the remainder survived the battle of Pydna and the subsequent wholesale deportation of the Macedonian aristocracy. Nevertheless Livy² gives three long and detailed speeches purporting to be those of Philip, Perseus, and Demetrius respectively. We might legitimately consider these speeches to be ordinary examples of the Livian oration, were it not that we possess a fragment of Polybius³ which contains a portion of Philip's speech and which shows clearly that Livy's version is merely a paraphrase and in some instances a translation. But it is certainly unlikely in the extreme that Polybius could have known what was said in this secret conference. It is impossible to regard these speeches as authentic. Suffice it to say that Demetrius seems to have refuted successfully the charge that he had attempted to murder Perseus on the previous night, and that Philip declined to decide immediately upon the question after only one short discussion.⁴

At about this time Philip again sent Apelles and Philocles to Rome, ostensibly on an embassy but actually to inquire into Demetrius's relations with the Romans and particularly with Titus Flamininus.⁵ Shortly afterwards Philip set out on an expedition to Thrace, and Demetrius was left behind on the pretext that Philip did not wish to risk all the members of the royal family in one campaign. Demetrius was to be escorted back to Macedonia by Didas, the governor of Paeonia. Didas, if we are to believe Livy,⁶ had already been influenced by Perseus. Be that as it may, Didas gained Demetrius's confidence,

¹ Livy, 40, 8, 3-7.

² 40, 8-16.

³ 23, 11.

⁴ Livy, 40, 16, 1-3.

⁵ Livy, 40, 20, 3.

⁶ 40, 21, 10.

and Demetrius told him that *he was about to flee to Rome*.¹ There can be no doubt that this intention in itself was enough to condemn Demetrius on a charge of treason; the result of his flight to Rome could only be ultimate Roman intervention in Macedonia. The admission of such an intention was a strong confirmation of all the previous suspicions against Demetrius. At the time when he needed to do everything possible to assure his father of his loyalty and to destroy all suspicion of any disloyal dealings with Rome, he planned to flee to Rome and to place himself under the protection of the Roman people.

When Philip was informed of Demetrius's plan, he still declined to take immediate action. Instead he had Herodorus, Demetrius's most intimate personal friend, confined, and had Demetrius guarded in such a manner that he might not suspect it.² Philip then waited for the return of the ambassadors from Rome.³ When Philocles and Apelles returned, they brought various accusations against Demetrius and also a letter from Titus Flamininus. This letter, in the form of an apology, said that even though Demetrius had been misled by the desire to rule, Flamininus was sure that the young man would not do anything against any one of his relatives, and that he himself could never give such advice. Upon the receipt of the letter Herodorus was immediately put to the torture but divulged nothing.⁴ Perseus again accused Demetrius to Philip. His charges were: Demetrius's plan to flee to Rome, his bribing certain persons to accompany him, and, most important of all, Flamininus's letter.⁵ Philip, naturally enough, pronounced no open sentence upon Demetrius but sent him to Astraeum in Paeonia with Didas as a companion, while Perseus was sent to Amphipolis to receive hostages from the Thracians. Philip is reported to have given Didas, on his departure, instructions to kill Demetrius. Didas caused Demetrius to come from Astraeum to Heraclea for the purpose of celebrating a sacrifice. Poison is said to have been administered to the prince at a banquet, after which he retired to his room when he began to feel the effects. Then two men, Thyrsis of Stubera and Alexander of Beroea, smothered him. The murder took place in 181 B.C.⁶

¹ Livy, 40, 21, 4-11; 40, 23, 1-3.

³ Livy, 40, 23, 6.

⁵ Livy, 40, 24, 1.

² Livy, 40, 23, 1-5.

⁴ Livy, 40, 23,

⁶ Livy, 40, 24.

We may now reconsider the causes of Demetrius's death. First, when the young prince had been sent to Rome to plead the cause of his father and of Macedonia, the reply of the Senate had been that everything which that body had done (and it was little enough) had been as a personal favor to Demetrius. In addition, Philip had received the letter from Flamininus asking him to send Demetrius again to Rome with as many Macedonian nobles as possible. Possibly Philip may have heard from Philocles and Apelles some rumor of Demetrius's meeting with Flamininus and of the latter's suggestion that Rome might intervene to place Demetrius on the Macedonian throne.¹ This fact, had Philip been sure of it, would have been ample ground in itself for Demetrius's execution. After Demetrius's return to Macedonia the circle which centered around the person of the young prince and his constant association with the Roman ambassadors were additionally disturbing factors. It is highly to Philip's credit that he did not allow himself to be carried away by Perseus's charges, coming as they did immediately after a night of heavy drinking. Philip did not act at all until he received news from Didas that Demetrius was planning to flee to Rome. Even then Philip did nothing more than place Demetrius under loose surveillance. Not until Philocles and Apelles returned from Rome with the letter from Flamininus did Philip finally consent to Demetrius's death. And at this point it should be made very clear *that the authenticity or falsity of this letter has no bearing upon Demetrius's guilt, since the letter merely confirmed events which had really taken place in Rome three years before.* Demetrius was guilty of listening to Flamininus's treasonable suggestions and of concealing them from his father, so that the letter, whether authentic or forged, acquainted Philip with an actual fact. Naturally Philip could not publicly execute Demetrius for treason; to do so would be to risk an immediate war with Rome. Philip placed the interests of the monarchy and the Macedonian nation before his own personal feelings and decreed the assassination of his son, and we hardly need Livy's statement² to believe that the king suffered the greatest mental anguish.

¹ The fact that Philip sent Philocles and Apelles back to Rome to inquire about Demetrius's relations with Flamininus (Livy, 40, 20, 3) makes this conclusion very likely.

² 40, 54, 1-2.

We now come to a curious confused epilogue to the tragic history of Demetrius. There was at the Macedonian court a certain Antigonus, the son of Echecrates, who was the brother of Antigonus Doson. This Antigonus, according to Livy,¹ was the only one of Philip's Friends whom Perseus did not corrupt, a statement which implies that Antigonus was at least sympathetic with Demetrius.² Antigonus, foreseeing that Perseus's accession to the throne would be dangerous to himself (another indication that he was of Demetrius's party), and also perceiving that Philip regretted the necessity of Demetrius's execution, determined to arrive at the "truth" of the matter. In this he was influenced by gossip to the effect that Flamininus's letter was a forgery.³ One day he accidentally encountered a certain Xychus (the name seems corrupt), who had apparently been secretary to Philocles and Apelles on their last mission to Rome.⁴ Antigonus put Xychus under arrest, and then informed Philip that he had the only man who could tell the truth concerning the whole affair. When Xychus was brought before Philip, he at first denied the charges, but, confronted with the executioner and the instruments of torture, he confessed that Philocles and Apelles had forged the letter and that he himself had had a part in the affair. At this Philip ordered Philocles and Apelles to be arrested. Apelles was absent, but Philocles was apprehended and brought before the king. Here the narrative becomes even more confused, since Livy⁵ gives two versions, one of which states that Philocles confessed, and the other that he endured the torture without flinching.⁶ Livy⁷ further states that Philip, as a result of the discovery that Flamininus's letter was a forgery, designed Antigonus to succeed him on the throne instead of Perseus.

But there are very serious difficulties in this story. In the first place, it is obvious that the narrative can only have been based on the merest rumor and gossip. And, even admitting the details, not much confidence can be placed in Xychus's "confession," for it was forced by the fear of torture. The two variant versions of Philocles's actions under torture add further uncertainty. Most striking of all, however, is

¹ 40, 54, 6; *supra*, p. 194, n. 5.

² Livy, 40, 54, 4-7.

³ Livy, 40, 54, 7-9-55, 1.

⁴ Livy, 40, 55, 2.

⁵ 40, 55, 7.

⁶ 40, 55.

⁷ 40, 56, 3-7.

Apelles's conduct after he became aware of Xychus's confession and the arrest of Philocles. Apelles, whose forgery of the seal of one of the most important Roman senators had led to the death of the leader of the Roman party in Macedonia, is stated ¹ to have chosen *Italy* of all the states in the Mediterranean as his place of refuge! Livy's statement that Philip planned to make Antigonus heir to the throne is extremely suspicious, for Philip had ample time to take steps to that end, but according to Livy ² the king merely "commended" Antigonus to the *principes* of the Macedonian cities.³ Whatever the truth may originally have been, Livy's account of Antigonus, Xychus, and the forged letter of Flaminius is so hopelessly involved and contradictory and so obviously based on the wildest rumor as to be completely unreliable. Furthermore, it is difficult in the extreme to discover what motive Philocles and Apelles could have had for betraying their trust by forging a letter to discredit a prince of the royal house. And, finally, Flaminius's letter, even as given by Livy, is exactly the sort of letter which might be expected under the circumstances, in view of the previous relations between Flaminius and Demetrius.

The responsibility for the quarrel between Perseus and Demetrius and the death of Demetrius belong without question to Titus Flaminius. There is not the slightest evidence of any bad feeling between the two princes before Flaminius incited Demetrius during the latter's presence in Rome in 184. It is unthinkable that Flaminius should have taken such a step on his own responsibility, and indeed the Senate's splendid reception of Demetrius, as well as its harsh message to Philip informing the king that its leniency was due solely to its consideration for that prince, shows clearly that Flaminius was acting in

¹ Livy, 40, 55, 6.

² 40, 56, 7.

³ It further appears that Philip sent Antigonus as ambassador to the Bastarnae, for Livy in 40, 57, 3 mentions an Antigonus as the Macedonian representative to the Bastarnae, without indicating in any way that this Antigonus is different from Antigonus, the son of Echecrates, about whom Livy has just been speaking at great length in 40, 55-56. After his description of the march of the Bastarnae through Thrace (40, 57-58), Livy (40, 57, 9) states that Perseus, who had just become king, ordered Antigonus to be put to death. This Antigonus must have been the son of Echecrates, but from Livy's narrative it seems clear that Livy also means the Antigonus who had been the Macedonian representative to the Bastarnae.

full accord with the Senate. We need not accuse Rome of a Macchiavellian plan to incite hatred and dissension in the Macedonian royal family. The explanation is rather that the Senate knew Demetrius, liked him, and therefore much preferred to have upon the Macedonian throne a king whom they could trust and who would be sympathetic to Rome. But nothing more clearly demonstrates the utter unreality of Roman policy than the belief, cherished by Flamininus and the Senate, that the Antigonid monarchy could be induced to accept a king at Roman dictation. Perseus can hardly be blamed for his opposition to Demetrius after 184. What chance would the deposed heir to the throne have for continued existence? Demetrius himself was certainly guilty of placing his own personal ambition before his country and his family.

Rome sought to solve the problem of her difficult relations with Macedonia by placing on the Macedonian throne a prince who had been reared at Rome. To achieve this end the Republic used a characteristic combination of intrigue and threats typical of the untimely brutality of Roman policy in the Greek East. The inevitable result of the Senate's actions was further to anger Philip and Perseus and to increase the Antigonids' suspicious hatred of the Republic. The Roman policy inevitably failed, and Demetrius was the victim of this failure. As a result, when Perseus came to the throne, the mutual distrust between the two powers had never been more intense. Rome's attempt to place a friendly prince on the Macedonian throne had as its result the precise opposite of her intention. The new king of Macedonia was the embodiment of Macedonian national feeling.

The character of Perseus as drawn by the Polybian tradition is that of a conventional melodramatic villain, but this portrait cannot stand critical examination. One of Perseus's first acts after ascending the throne was to grant a complete amnesty to all political offenders;¹ no king can grant such an amnesty who is not sure of his position and of popular support. Even our completely hostile sources state that only one execution marked Perseus's accession.² During the war between Perseus and Rome we hear of only *one* Macedonian who deserted his king.³ That Perseus was not chronically suspicious of his relatives

¹ Polyb., 25, 3, 1-4.

² *Supra*, p. 200, n. 3.

³ Livy, 44, 16, 4-7.

is shown by the fact that he made his younger brother Philip heir to the throne to the exclusion of his own son Alexander.¹ We hate none so much as those we have wronged, and the vilification of Perseus in our tradition shows only what desperate expedients the Roman and Romanizing historians were forced to adopt in order to justify Rome's attack on Macedon in 172.

¹ Livy, 42, 52, 5. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, IV², p. 142, denies this statement of Livy on what seem to me thoroughly insufficient grounds.

SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D., 1934-35

HAROLD LESLIE BISBEE. — *The Tyrrhenians in Pisa and Triphylia, and
their Conquerors, the Minyan Pelopes*.¹

HERODOTUS'S testimony that the Etruscans, or Tyrrhenians, migrated to their historic home, Etruria, from Lydia has been accepted by a majority of modern scholars; and it is generally believed, in default of tradition or evidence to the contrary, that these migrants pursued a direct westward course by sea past the shores of the Peloponnesus and of Crete without landing anywhere on the way. It is the purpose of the present dissertation to demonstrate that a group of these Tyrrhenians who had set out from the vicinity of Lesbos did in fact break their voyage, first on the northern coast of Crete, in a land called Cydonia, and subsequently on the western shore of the Peloponnesus, in the districts of Pisa and Triphylia. The clue to their temporary occupation of these localities is afforded by the Semitic place-names Cydonia and Iardanus, which differ from other Semitic place-names found in Greece in that they occur nowhere else in the Greek world except in these regions and in former abodes of the Tyrrhenians, Lydia and the neighboring island of Lesbos. This phenomenon, not in itself sufficient to prove a sojourn of the Tyrrhenians in these regions, is confirmed by the otherwise inexplicable circumstance that the distinctively Pisan legend of the Lydian Pelops's competition with the Pisan hero Oenomaus is demonstrably a creation of the Tyrrhenians of Lesbos. The incongruous presence of this originally Tyrrhenian legend in Pisa and in Triphylia, the occurrence of a gulf on the coast of Cydonia bearing the same name as a leading character of this myth, Myrtilus, and the restriction of the names Cydonia and Iardanus to these localities and to Lesbos and Lydia point to one conclusion: that a band of the Tyrrhenians, on their way from Lesbos and Lydia to Etruria, landed first in Cydonia, then in

¹ Degree in Classical Philology.

Pisa and Triphylia, and temporarily occupied these regions (about 850 B.C.).

But no sooner had they established themselves in Pisa and Triphylia than they were expelled from their new home by an obscure group of Minyans who honored the hero Pelops as their progenitor. They had migrated to Triphylia from Lemnos by way of Lacedaemon. Herodotus's fantastic tale of their adventures is shown by the touchstone of local Pisan and Triphylian tradition to reflect a thoroughly historic migration which culminated in so utter a destruction of the newly created Tyrrhenian kingdom of Pisa that all memory of its existence was obliterated (about 800 B.C.). The dispossessed Tyrrhenians fled to Italy and founded the Etrurian city of Pisae. In celebration of this triumph the Minyans instituted the Olympic Games. This explanation of the origin of the games alone accounts for the well-known indications that they were at first military in character and for their intimate connection with the hero Pelops. The fame of the Olympic Games occasioned the adoption of Pelops into Argive mythology after the invasion of Pisa and of southern Elis by Pheidon, the king of Argos (about 660 B.C.). The Argives, in order to justify their recently won dominion of southern Greece, insinuated their new hero into the genealogies of their subject cities as a parent of the eponymous heroes of those cities. This greater Pelops, father of the Pelopidae, as his new children were called, readily and naturally became the eponymous hero of the whole peninsula, the Peloponnesus. Within three centuries after their arrival the Minyans were subjugated by the Eleans (about 580 B.C.).

HESTER HARRINGTON. — *The Prototypes of the Designs on Roman Lamps*.¹

AN attempt is made to point out the sources from which lamp-makers, for the most part of the Roman Imperial period, obtained the decorative motifs found on Roman terracotta lamps. This is done by comparing closely the subjects on a limited number of lamps with the treatment of the same subjects in other branches of art.

Since it has not been possible in every case to find an exact parallel

¹ Degree in Classical Archaeology.

for the design on the lamp, the conclusions in several instances are not clearly defined. In such cases it has been necessary to resort to probabilities. On the whole, however, it seems justifiable to maintain the following views:

I. The Roman lampmakers were practically devoid of originality. Since so many of the designs on their lamps appear in more important branches of art, it seems likely that the motifs on lamps are conscious or unconscious imitations.

II. The prototypes for the designs on lamps are to be found in many branches of art; the most important branch, however, is bas-relief. The most exact and the greatest number of parallels are found in this field. Moreover, bas-relief — in terracotta, marble, or metal — is the likeliest source, for the lampmaker himself actually used this technique for the discs of his lamps. There is but one exception. The lampmaker, so far as can be determined, did not imitate the designs on moulded pottery, save possibly in the instance of Calenian wares.

III. The lampmaker occasionally took his designs from sculpture in the round; models from this field, however, seem not to have been so frequently used as those from bas-relief.

IV. A few designs on lamps seem to have been copied from painting.

An attempt is also made to show that lampmakers were influenced by the religious ideas and by the trend of art in the periods in which they worked.

Lamps on the whole seem little influenced by the tremendous popularity of oriental cults at Rome or in the Roman Empire. An exception to this is in the lamps from Alexandria, which are commonly decorated with subjects related to Hellenized Egyptian deities.

The two groups of lamps which, from an aesthetic point of view, are most attractive are those produced contemporaneously with or immediately following artistic movements in other fields of art. These belong to the periods of Augustus and Hadrian.

It has been necessary also to discuss the relationship between the designs on lamps and Roman *terra sigillata*. The belief that lampmakers drew many of their designs from pottery made in the Roman provinces has been vaguely intimated from time to time by scholars who have observed the similarity of types used on both lamps and *terra sigillata*. This conclusion seems to have been based mainly on the

desire to make a less important branch of art, such as the manufacture of lamps, dependent upon one which is of greater artistic worth.

Since in the majority of cases in which the same motifs are used on both lamps and pottery the lamps clearly belong to a period preceding the pottery, it is obvious that the lampmaker did not draw upon the répertoire of the potter. Moreover, in many instances it is doubtless true that the potter actually imitated the designs on lamps.

CHARLES THEOPHILUS MURPHY. — *Quae Ratio inter Fabulas satyricas et Comoediam antiquam intercedat.*¹

THIS investigation seeks to determine precisely the relations between satyric drama and Old Attic Comedy, a subject as yet insufficiently treated, since most scholars have been content to accept Aristotle's statement that satyric drama is a primitive form of tragedy. The question deserves further study, for even if we cannot in all cases give a definite answer, none the less a certain amount of evidence points to an intimate connection of Comedy with satyric drama. This evidence is discussed under the following heads: the classes of satyric drama, the satyric chorus, characters and plots, meters, and origin.

The plots of satyr-plays are examined under several classes or genres, following Welcker, who divided the known plays into five main divisions. It must be admitted that these classes are by no means as inflexible and independent of one another as Welcker seems to suggest; they rather point to certain elements constantly recurring in satyric drama. In the first place, in a number of plays (the *Amyrmone* and *Omphale* are notable examples) one of the principal features was a violent and usually lascivious attack by the chorus on one of the characters, a feature which has not been noticed before, as far as I know, although it is of some importance, since it appears in the earliest plays, and seems closely akin to the violent entrance and the attacks of the chorus of Old Comedy. I also suggest that Sophocles censures this in *Ichneutae* 245-249; at any rate there is evidence that Sophocles changed the character of the satyrs for the better.

Of the other classes two, at least, viz. monster-plays and heroic burlesques, seem to have some connection with early Doric farces,

¹ Degree in Classical Philology.

which, to judge from the titles of Epicharmus, were frequently concerned with such subjects.

The inquiry into the satyric chorus yields rather few results for the main subject of our investigation, but clears up several vexing problems. On the satyr-silen question the conclusions already reached by Pickard-Cambridge seem to hold the field: in the best period both satyrs and silens are the same, although a distinct figure, the Papposilen, is developed within the satyric drama. The rôle of the chorus in individual plays is treated at some length; in several types of plot the chorus is found to have an important influence, equal in fact to the protagonist, and greater than is usual in tragedy. In others, especially in the monster-plays, the chorus does little but add humor and a certain amount of scurrility. A later type of play, favored particularly by Sophocles and Achaëus, presents the satyrs as mere spectators and participants at a feast, in circumstances where they are hardly required by the plot. From this custom I suggest that a constant chorus of revellers arose and was introduced into Middle and New Comedy — a chorus for which there is abundant evidence in the papyri of Menander; and I may add that the mention of comic choregi in the Fourth Century in Aristotle's *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* should definitely prove the existence of the chorus in Middle Comedy. Finally the question of "the constant liberation" of the satyric chorus is treated at length, with especial reference to the *Ichneutae*, in which the satyrs are assumed to be slaves, although Sophocles gives no explanation for their slavery. The view of Bethe¹ that the beginning of the play is lost cannot be accepted, while the still more violent explanation of Robert² that the liberation of the chorus in the plot represents the liberation of the actual choreutae from their day's labor in the theater is grotesque without really explaining at all Sophocles's omission in the exposition. An examination of other plots reveals that the satyrs were not always enslaved, and even when enslaved were not always liberated. The explanation must be that the slavery-motif was introduced early in the history of the satyric drama to explain, where necessary, the separation of the satyrs from Dionysus; this soon became a convention, which the poet might or might not explain more fully, as he pleased.

¹ *Berichte der Gesell. der Wiss. zu Leipzig*, 71 (1919), p. 1.

² *Hermes*, 47 (1912), pp. 536 sqq.

Then, if the plot required, the satyrs might be liberated, as at the end of the *Cyclops*, to return to the joyous service of Dionysus.

The chorus often takes the rôle of the comic buffoon, or *βωμολόχος*, which gives a definitely comic touch. The character of Heracles, a frequent figure both in Comedy and in satyric drama, is found to be the same in each, as are also Odysseus and other "heroes" in satyric plays, in so far as they can be traced in Comedy at all. The appearance of a chorus of satyrs in some comedies is almost certain. Finally a number of plots are common to both dramatic forms, and I suggest that the later comic writers may have followed satyric drama in the burlesque of tragedy.

In metrical questions a number of points indicate a connection of Comedy and satyric drama: the use of the iambic tetrameter, both the catalectic form, which ancient writers name "metrum comicum," and the acatalectic, which is not found in Greek drama except occasionally in lyrics, but appears as the iambic octonarius in Roman Comedy. Since we have evidence that Roman comic poets went back to Old Attic Comedy for their meters, it follows that this acatalectic tetrameter, in which thirty verses of the *Ichneutae* are composed, is a comic meter.

In this metrical investigation I have given a tentative metrical analysis of the choruses of the *Ichneutae*. The use of the metrum proceleusmaticum, in which *Ich.* 170-196 and Pratinas, fr. 1 are mainly composed, is a characteristic of satyric drama (Mar. Victor. *Art. gram.* 2, 11, p. 99 Keil), closely paralleled in comedy. Further the two syzygies and the syncopated iambic meter in *Ich.* 237-244 = 283-290 and 321-329 = 362-370 show well-known comic peculiarities.

Following the investigation of Greifenhagen and the views of Schmid, I have shown how the satyric drama developed from the Attic *κῶμος*, in which the satyrs and Dionysus had a part as early as c. 550. Pratinas still remains the literary "inventor" of the type, since he cast these popular, mimetic diversions into dramatic form, doubtless employing some of the devices of the popular Peloponnesian farces, and first produced the resulting dramas at the Dionysia (probably in 508). Since Comedy does not appear at the state festivals until 488/7, there is an interval of twenty years in which satyric drama alone represented the comic spirit at the Dionysia. The earlier satyr-

plays therefore should be more comic in tone, and an examination of the remains reveals the telling characteristics of Attic Comedy — the violent parodus, a form of agon (although probably less formal than the developed comic agon), and even traces of personal satire and treatment of contemporary matters. I suggest that this is what Dioscorides refers to in his epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 7, 707) praising Sositheus for restoring satyric drama to its pristine form; certainly traces of satire reappear in the later satyric plays.

While, then, I hesitate to claim absolute certainty or a complete demonstration in matters so obscure, the weight of the evidence presented makes it seem extremely probable that comedy and satyric drama are closely related.

BROOKS OTIS. — *De Lactantii qui dicitur Narrationibus Ovidianis*.¹

THIS thesis deals with the *Narrationes* or *Argumenta* of the so-called Lactantius Placidus which are included in most of the principal MSS.² of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. It is divided into three sections: (I) the origin and purpose of the *Argumenta*; (II) the composition of the text; (III) the relation of this text (of the *Argumenta*) to that of the *Metamorphoses* themselves.

I

The name *Lactantius* (sometimes spelled *Luctatius*) appears only in a 15th-century MS.³ (without the *Metamorphoses* themselves) and in the early 15th and 16th-century editions. It is therefore in all probability, as Magnus suggested, the result of a 15th-century conjecture. The same can be said of the names Donatus and Fulgentius which occur in other MSS. and editions.⁴ A study of the contents of the *Argumenta* reveals certain interesting peculiarities: (I) While they are based on

¹ Degree in Classical Philology.

² In M, N, U, β, κ, π, ε. For a description of the MSS. thus denominated see either H. Magnus's edition of the *Metamorphoses* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1914) or that of Lafaye (Collection des Universités de France: Ovide les *Métamorphoses*, Tome I, 1928). For U (Urbinas 342) see D. A. Slater (*Towards a Text of the Metamorphoses of Ovid*, Oxford, 1927).

³ Laurentianus XC, 99.

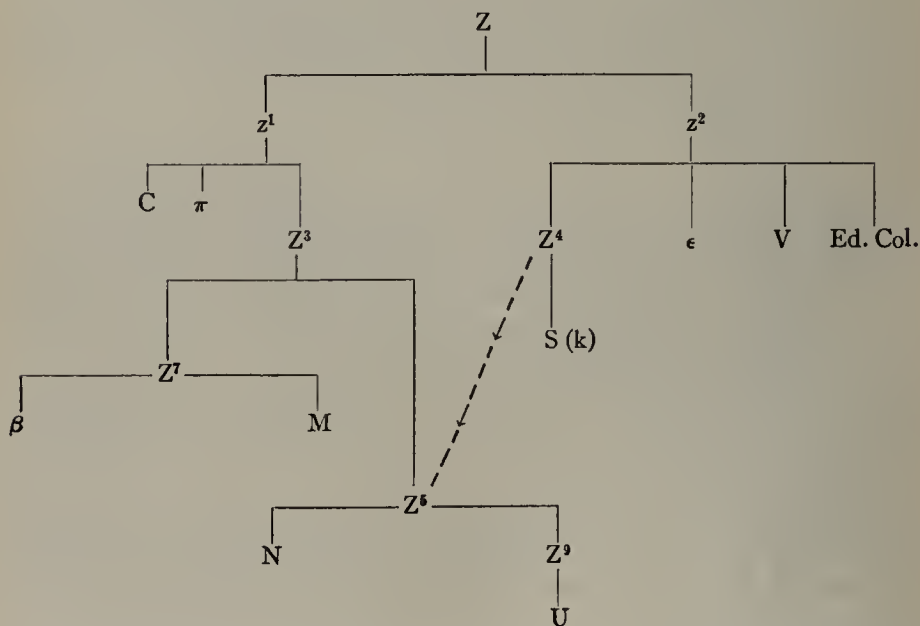
⁴ Donatus (Laurentianus LIII 15, Ed. Col., Ed. Vadiani); Fulgentius (Burneus 311).

the Ovidian text, they reveal significant contradictions and variations. (II) They contain obvious scholia and other explanatory material. (III) They contain verbatim citations of such authors as Hyginus (*Fabulae*), the commentator on Statius's *Thebais*, and Servius Danielis.

This would seem to indicate that the author of these *Argumenta* used whatever suitable or available 'ready made' phrases he could find in order to expedite the task of summarizing the poem. In addition, however, various scholia have crept into the summaries. This process of accretion seems to have taken place at intervals for several centuries subsequent to the composition of the *Argumenta*.¹

II

The text of the *Argumenta* has been constructed on the basis of a careful study of the MSS., for most of which (N, U, β , ϵ , π) I have had the evidence of reliable photographs. The general relationship of the different codices is indicated in the following stemma:



¹ In this section I have interpreted the work of Richard Foerster, Reinhold Franz, and Baehrens (*Studia Serviana*, Univ. of Ghent, 1917) through an examination of the *text itself*.

V and C are manuscripts described by Victor Giselinus in his edition of the *Metamorphoses* and *Argumenta* (Books I–IV), dated 1566. V is indubitably very close to ϵ . I have attempted to prove in a large number of readings the value of the Z^2 family (ϵ , V, Ed. Col.). It is probably quite as reliable as the Z^1 family (π , C, β , M, N, U), and in many cases supplies the better reading, or even the correct one.

III

These conclusions apply to the text of the *Metamorphoses* themselves and thus supplement or correct the work of William F. Smith¹ on this subject. In particular this study of the *Argumenta* serves to emphasize the value of the manuscript ϵ (Harleianus 2610). To show this even more clearly I have argued for the adoption of the following readings of ϵ :

1. *Met.* I, 200 Attonitum *tantae* subito terrore ruinae.
2. I, 230 In *dominum* dignosque everti tecta penates.
3. I, 392 Diffidunt monitis; sed quid temptare *nocebat*?
4. I, 727 Condidit et profugam per totum *circuit* orbem.
5. II, 21 Protinus ad patrios *vertit* vestigia vultus.
6. II, 74 Obvius ire polis *ne* te citus *auferet* axis.
7. II, 114–115 . . . diffugiunt stellae quarum agmina *cogens*
Lucifer *e* coeli statione novissimus exit.
8. II, 183 Iam genus *agnosci* piget et valuisse rogando.
9. II, 567 Me petit ipsa; *licet licet* hoc a Pallade quaeras.
10. II, 589 Quid tamen hoc prodest si *tetro* facto volucris.
11. II, 688 Rure senex; Battum vicina *hunc* rura *canebant*.
12. II, 863 Oscula dat manibus; vix *ha* vix cetera differt.
13. II, 730 Vertit iter caeloque petit diversa relicto.
14. II, 691 Hunc *tenuit* blandaque manu seduxit et illi.
15. II, 855 Cornua *vara* quidem sed quae contendere possis.
16. III, 14 Vix bene Castalio Cadmus *discesserat* antro.
17. III, 28 Silva vetus stabat nulla violata securi
Et specus in media virgis *a culmine* densus.
18. III, 162 Margine gramineo patulos *incinctus* hiatus.
19. III, 202 Ingemuit; vox illa *fugit*; lacrimaeque per ora.

¹ See the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXVI, 1925, where a summary (p. 183) of his thesis is given.

JOHN MARTIN TOLAND. — *De Vocalium Mutatione illa apud Graecos antiquos quae hodie 'Sandhi' dicitur*.¹

IT was the purpose of this thesis to treat a detailed account of external vocalic *sandhi* in Greek. The usage of the poets and of the majority of the prose writers of the classical period from Homer to Demosthenes was examined. I also utilised the evidence for *sandhi* available in inscriptions in prose and verse in dialects other than Attic of the same period, occasionally citing examples of a later date to illustrate the usage of dialects, such as the Arcadian and Thessalian, in which few inscriptions previous to the third century B.C. are extant. An attempt was also made to determine, in respect of external vocalic *sandhi*, the actual pronunciation as distinguished from the writing. For this the evidence of the metre, both in the poets and in the metrical inscriptions, was of prime importance. Much light was also thrown on the problem by a comparison of variations in the writing of recurrent combinations of similar vowels and diphthongs. But the Greeks themselves had no consistent method of noting vowels and diphthongs in such combinations, preferring, on the whole, to write the full grammatical form of both words. This discrepancy is particularly notable in the distinctions that have been drawn by many grammarians between crasis, aphaeresis and synizesis, for which there appears to be no phonetic basis.

In the chapter on hiatus in the poets I first mention those instances which may be explained by the disappearance from our texts of an initial consonant or consonants of Indo-European origin, preserved in some guise or other in the pronunciation. This, of course, is well known in regard to consonantal *u* in the epic and lyric poets; the same sound is often retained in the Western dialectal inscriptions to a late date. A few examples, chiefly in epic, indicate that the 'spiritus asper' derived from IE *s- was occasionally pronounced with such force that no hiatus took place (cf. *τελαμῶνα ἐῆ* *Od.* 11, 614 and *Il.* 1, 532). Finally, in a very few instances in Homer, hiatus may be explained by the disappearance from the writing of IE *i̯-, some relic of which may have been preserved in the traditional pronunciation, although

¹ Degree in Classical Philology.

the examples I have been able to find are perhaps better explained by the presence of a glide (cf. *ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ* *Od.* 11, 147).

There remain, however, many instances of hiatus which can be explained only by the addition of a glide: *ĩ* after final *ĩ*, *ĩ* or *u* after final *ũ*, *i* or *u* depending on the quality of the final and initial vowels or diphthongs after *ǎ*, *ě*, and *ǝ*. This theory of a consonantal glide is supported by the conclusions of phoneticians as well as by the evidence of a number of Pamphylian and Cyprian inscriptions, which show the glide written within a word. I assume that the long vowels *ā*, *ē*, *ō* occasionally retain their original quality for the same reason. After the short diphthongs *ǎĩ*, *ěĩ*, *ǝĩ* and the long diphthongs *āĩ*, *ēĩ*, *ōĩ* consonantal *ĩ* is certainly added, after the short diphthongs *ěu*, *ǝu* consonantal *u*. In such cases the second vowel of a long diphthong may become consonantal and serve as a glide, though this seems unlikely.

Instances of final vowels and diphthongs so preserved before an initial vowel or diphthong occur in compounds and in the stream of speech as well as where there is a slight break in the sense. Especially noteworthy is the occasional conservation of the final vowel *ě* or *ǝ* of proclitics and enclitics, the form employed before consonants being so fixed in the usage that it was sometimes used, in the epic dialect, before vowels as well. Noteworthy also is the occurrence of hiatus within a traditional phrase or epithet, due to the substitution of a vowel or diphthong for an initial or final consonant (e.g., *βοῶπις πότνια* "Ἥρη *Il.* 1, 551; cf. *πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ* *Od.* 15, 385).

A final long vowel suffers a loss in quantity, though, due to the retention of the glide, it is still counted as a separate syllable. This is certainly the case when the preceding syllable is short and the following long, when the foot is necessarily dactylic. On the other hand, when the preceding syllable is long and the following short, contraction, with loss of glide, may very well have taken place, especially between vowels or diphthongs that are usually contracted within a word or in crasis (e.g., *ἐκάτωρ τῷ ἐμῷ* . . . *θυμῷ* *Hymn to Dionysus*, 55), though a too frequent use of this device may have been avoided by the rhapsodes in order to preserve the dominant dactylic character of the hexameter. Contraction of final short diphthongs and initial vowels may also take place under the same conditions; where the foot is of necessity a dactyl, the first vowel of a short diphthong is to be pro-

nounced short, final *i* or *u* as *i̇* or *u̇*. The long diphthongs *āi*, *ēi*, *ōi*, when final, become either *ǎ|i̇*, *ě|i̇*, *ǫ|i̇* (through *ǎi*, *ěi*, *ǫi*) or *ǎ*, *ě*, *ǫ* (through *ā*, *ē*, *ō*); the first treatment is more likely when the foot in question must be dactylic, the second when contraction may take place and the foot be spondaic. Corroborative testimony on this point is furnished by the dialects, the Northwestern inscriptions often showing *ěi* for final *ēi*, the Ionic *ē*.

The evidence for so-called crasis consists of certain Attic forms, which, contrary to the general rule, preserve the quality of the initial rather than the final vowel in contraction. Since the same kind of contraction occurs not infrequently within words (cf. *ἀπλόα ἀπλᾶ*:: *αἰδόα αἰδῶ*) crasis and contraction are really the same. Examples that may be adduced from other dialects are better described as elision (e.g., *τάργείου* Argolic, *τὰπόλογοι* Locrian).

A comparison with the evidence presented by examples of contraction led me to conclude that initial short *ǎ* and *ě*, which alone are written in aphaeresis, are actually contracted with the preceding long vowel. Thus the spelling *ἄχθομαι* γώ (Arist. *Acharn.* 62) seems purely conventional; *ἄχθομα̃γω* is preferable phonetically. Certain secondary forms of the indicative, which are elided in our texts of the tragic and comic poets after a preceding long vowel or diphthong, may very well represent the ancient IE forms often found in Homer and the lyric poets and not infrequently in the tragedians, especially in messengers' or heralds' speeches. Similarly, the elision of the initial vowel of *ἐκείνος*, usually accepted by modern editors of Plato and the orators even after a preceding short vowel, seems unsatisfactory. The forms *κῆνος* and *κείνος*, without the addition of the pronominal particle, are customary, the former in Aeolic, the latter in Ionic, being frequently employed by Homer and Herodotus. It is therefore highly probable that the same form was often used by writers in the fourth century B.C., especially when the preceding word ended in a vowel (cf. the reading of the Oxford MS. of Plato *καίπερ κείνο Symp.* 219C).

In discussing synizesis in the poets, I suppose, on the basis of a comparison with examples of 'crasis' and aphaeresis, that final and initial vowels and diphthongs so written were actually contracted.

In most cases of contraction, whatever the manner of writing, one of the words at least is a proclitic or enclitic, which are readily joined

to a preceding or following word; examples of contraction, however, are by no means confined to such instances, as the evidence of the inscriptions and an occasional example in the poets prove (cf. Sappho, 1, 11). But in many words written together with crasis, elision rather than contraction has taken place.

In the chapter on elision, evidence is gathered to prove that a final short vowel is actually omitted in pronunciation, even though it may be preserved in writing. This is shown by the fact that an unvoiced stop is frequently changed to an unvoiced aspirate by the 'spiritus asper' of the following word, and also by the fact that the second of two unlike short vowels, one initial and one final, is never omitted in the writing. Prodelision, therefore, is not likely in the case of two like vowels, nor contraction between a short vowel, except in the case of certain forms of the article and relative pronoun, and a following long vowel or diphthong of like quality, though the latter is perhaps possible. The formation of compounds illustrates the argument in several details.

In the chapter on final and initial vowels and diphthongs written in hiatus in the prose writers and inscriptions, I sought to determine the actual pronunciation employed, basing my suggestions on the usage of the lyric poets and dramatists, where possible. Since these writers avoid the combination of certain vowels and diphthongs, I also refer to the practice of the epic poetry, although few inscriptions, not to mention prose writers, date earlier than the sixth century. The results of any such investigation can hardly be considered certain; I think, however, that they have some interest.

There are two appendices. In the first I discuss apocope in certain prepositions. The monosyllabic $\tilde{\alpha}\pi$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi$ are to be explained as regular variations of form; the forms $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ as well as the disyllabic forms of these prepositions are IE; the monosyllabic forms $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho$ are IE, the final $\tilde{\alpha}$ of the disyllabic forms having been added at a later date after the analogy of $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$. The monosyllabic forms $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau$ and $\pi\acute{o}\tau$ offer special difficulty, inasmuch as the disyllabic forms of these prepositions are alone accepted by scholars as IE. It seems likely, however, that elision before a vowel took place, if not in IE times, at a very early stage in Greek itself. This theory finds support in the circumstance that mutation of $-\tau$ is very frequent before consonants in the

epic and the dialects other than Attic-Ionic. Since these monosyllabic forms occur with certainty before consonants, it is reasonable to assume that they were the forms usually employed before vowels, and I have therefore suggested that editors write the monosyllabic forms without the usual apostrophe before vowels, at least in those dialects for which the respective monosyllabic forms before consonants are cited, though I myself should prefer to write them thus everywhere in our texts before a vowel, except possibly in Attic-Ionic (cf. the constant employment of ἐν not ἐν' in all our texts).

In the second appendix I trace the extension of the use of paragogic νῦ.

REGINALD ISAAC WILFRED WESTGATE. — *De Casibus Indogermanicis, praecipue sociativo, in lingua Graeca ab Homero usque ad Thucydidem, summotis.*

THE Greek dative case, so called, deriving its form from three Indogermanic cases, namely the dative, as χῶρα, λῦκω, the locative, as ποδί, λύκοισι, and the sociative or instrumental, as χῶραις, λύκοις, can and does bear the meaning of any one of these. This ambiguity, developing in accordance with principles of case-syncretism, has made necessary the use of symbols to denote the precise function of any given dative. The development of symbols to make explicit the sociative sense inhering in the dative case is, in part, the subject of this dissertation.

I have used numerals to distinguish datives of different kinds; thus, the pure dative is called "dativus 1," the sociative dative "dativus 2," the instrumental dative "dativus 3," the locative dative "dativus 4." A distinction is drawn between the sociative dative "d. 2" and the instrumental dative "d. 3," less on the ground that the parent language must have possessed two such distinct cases (though this indeed might be supported by the evidence of Greek and Latin using a different construction to denote the agent or instrument from that which denotes the accompaniment) than on the ground that two distinct names should be used to distinguish datives so clearly distinct in meaning as appear in ἀνδράσι ὠμίλησα and ἀνδρὶ δαμείς κρατερῶ.

With this fourfold division in mind, I have read through most of the authors from Homer to Thucydides inclusive in order to find out how the sociative and instrumental meanings are made plain.

It is found that Homer not infrequently uses the dative case alone, without a preposition, to denote any one of the four possible meanings, as ἐλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν "d. 1," ἀνδράσιν ὠμίλησα "d. 2," τάμε νηλεί χαλκῷ "d. 3," αἰθέρι ναίων "d. 4"; but that already by the time of Homer the ambiguity of the dative case was being remedied by prepositions marking one or other sense clearly, as in ἄμα δ' ἠελίῳ καταδύντι κάππεσον ἐν Λήμνῳ. Even where the sense of the sentence would indicate sufficiently that the dative case must bear a sociative sense, the preposition σύν, or ἄμα (often postpositive) is frequently added, as may be seen in the Catalogue, e.g., τοῖς δ' ἄμα . . . νῆες ἔποντο.

The development is noted of another case, the genitive, which, joined with μετά, often relieves the dative case of its sociative function, and joined with ὑπό or πρόσ, often relieves it of its instrumental function; although the dative case constantly retains its instrumental function in denoting the (inanimate) instrument, and its sociative sense in poetry, usually combined with σύν, and in prose when it is used rather as an adverb of manner than as a noun of accompaniment.

The orthography is discussed of adverbs which derive from a sociative case in the Indogermanic language, such as σπουδῇ, λάθρῃ, σιγῇ, σιωπῇ, κρυφῇ, and it is shown that, while Attic inscriptions commonly spelled them with iota subscript, yet such a spelling misrepresents their nature and origin. By syncretism, then, with the dative case which has an iota subscript, these sociative adverbs came to be written exactly as the dative case was written. But, it is argued, while Athenians of the age of Pisistratus and later may have confused the dative and the sociative cases (and the evidence of Meisterhans is conclusive that they did), it is probable that in the time of Homer such syncretism had not yet occurred, and the suggestion is made that in Homer and Hesiod such adverbs should be written without an iota subscript.

The nature of κρύφα and σιγαῖ is, of course, different: these are derived either from a sociative case ending in -ῃ, or else from a neuter plural accusative ending in -α. The derivation of ἄμα, which appears four times in the text of Pindar as ἀμῆ, is discussed, and the conclusion reached that, despite Herodianus Grammaticus, *De Adv.* I, 489 (ed. A. Lentz) and the explanation of Lentz, the addition of an iota is indefensible, even on the grounds of syncretism, in the text of authors so

early as Pindar. Inscriptions support ἀμᾶ, but not ἀμᾷ. The tacit discrepancy of editors at these four points in their texts is confusing; Otto Schroeder (ed. 3, 1930) seems to me to be consistently erroneous.

The expression "ἐν instrumental," found especially in Jebb's commentary on *Ant.* 764, ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶν, is rejected as being either meaningless or misleading, since the preposition ἐν is in classical Greek invariably locative. Such expressions as the one just quoted are shown to be locative, not instrumental, and reference is made to the theory of vision expounded by Lucretius, Book IV, which of course is taken from Epicurus, *Græius homo*, and goes back to Democritus.

The use of the dative adjective αὐτῷ, αὐτοῖς, etc., to emphasize the sociative nature of the dative substantive to which it is attached, is explained by an assumed popular corruption, whereby expressions like μίαν ναῦν λαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι were corrupted from *μίαν ναῦν λαμβάνουσιν αὐτήν ἀνδράσι. The word αὐτός came to be so often connected in thought with the sociative dative that eventually it was (one may argue) attracted to it in case.

The dative of reference, which in certain passages seems to bear a locative meaning, has in most cases a sociative sense, as indeed the grammars explain it: cf. Goodwin-Gulick, § 1182: "The dative of respect is a form of the dative of manner."

The question of the "absolute case" in Indogermanic languages is discussed, and it is shown that exactly as Latin uses its "sociative case," the ablative so-called, in an absolute construction, so the Greek language also (although it generally uses the genitive case) uses its "sociative case," the dative so-called, in an absolute construction. Four examples are adduced from Herodotus and Thucydides to demonstrate that Greek has the construction of the "dative absolute."

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IN

CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

Edited by a Committee of the Classical Instructors of
Harvard University.

PUBLISHED BY THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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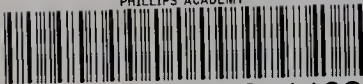
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